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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Baltimore Chosen as League's Convention City.—The forty-fourth annual conference on government of the National Municipal League has been scheduled for December 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, at Baltimore. A local steering committee is now in process of formation, with the following prominent citizens of Baltimore as officers: *chairman,* William J. Casey, chairman of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy; *vice-chairman,* Robert O. Bonnell, president of the Public Bank of Maryland; *treasurer,* Walter F. Perkins, vice-president of the Koppers Company; and *secretary,* D. Benton Biser, director and secretary of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy. Announcement of the personnel of the local committee, and subjects to be discussed at the conference, will be made shortly.

* * *

New York State Committee of the League Submits Proposals.—The program adopted by the New York State Committee of the National Municipal League for submission to the state constitutional convention, as reported in our issue for May, has now been officially presented to that body. In filing the resolutions, Dr. Rodney L. Mott, chairman of the state committee, wrote to each of the delegates of the convention as follows:

"You will appreciate that these findings represent not alone the two days and nights of earnest study and discussion at Schenectady but also many months—indeed, years—of the most thoughtful search for methods of improving our democratic form of government. They are submitted to you in the hope that they may contribute toward the solution of some of the many difficult problems confronting the convention."

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

For a good many years I have felt that the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is the most valuable publication in the local government field. On several occasions I have found articles and news notes of immediate interest and value to my work. For example, I want to express my appreciation of the article by Professor Alderfer which is contained in the April issue. Seldom have I seen so much information in one brief, comprehensive, and well balanced article. Certainly all students of government should be interested in the author's conclusions and observations regarding "Centralization in Pennsylvania."

H. C. BRADSHAW, *Economist in Farm Taxation*

Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas

* * *

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

The April number of your publication is at hand and you are to be highly commended for its interesting subject matter as well as the modern and easy-to-read appearance.

BARRY NORTON, *Chairman Editorial Board*

Illinois City Manager League

* * *

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

May I differ with the honorable mayor emeritus of Jamestown on one or two points in his letter to you in the June REVIEW?

Mr. Carlson states: "Most of our tax burdens are due to a multiplicity of governmental units (a total of 266,000 in U. S. A.)."

So often is reference made to the number of units of government in the nation that the figures may be worth publishing once again. The Bureau of the Census, in its decennial inquiry on financial statistics of state and local governments in 1932, had occasion to count the number of

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Editorial Comment

July, 1938

Hero-Making Time

One of the unpleasant "diseases" which seem to result from economic stress and unemployment is the widespread revival of the "city jobs for home-town boys only" idea.

It's all very logical, in a way. The politician reasons, first, that there are more votes among the "home-towners" than among the newcomers; second, that everyone who is out of a job will promptly translate the proposal into possible personal advantage; third (and this is what makes the idea particularly insulting and revolting to an intelligent community), he must reason that his constituents aren't very smart, anyway, and will fall for the outworn gag.

In New York City the old Tammany-dominated Board of Aldermen, with its dying gasp, sought to embarrass Mayor La Guardia by last-minute enactment of an ordinance providing three years of residence as a prerequisite for city employment. In Boston the city council tried to force the resignation of the superintendent of nurses and seven of her chief assistants at the city hospital because they were originally non-residents, chosen, strangely enough, solely because they were qualified for the jobs. Lufkin, Texas, slaps at the career ideal which is being built up through the council-manager form of government by announcing it will not consider out-of-state applicants in choosing a new city manager. In some other manager cities the idea is being advanced that the council should have larger powers of appointment "to reward those who work for good government."

While great progress has been made in the extension of the merit principle in public service, most notably in the president's recent order placing a hundred thousand previously excepted federal positions on a competitive basis, there probably have been more attempts to circumvent civil service laws during the last five years in the filling of even the most minor positions than during any other similar period in the last quarter century. It is truly a time to try men's souls and civic virtue. These are conditions which make heroes.

Mayor La Guardia was heroic when he rejected the politically-inspired Lyons residence ordinance—but they passed it over his veto. The *Boston Herald* was heroic when it bitterly attacked its guilty council members and asserted: "The ideal of the trustees of the Boston City Hospital should be to make it the finest public hospital in the world. That means bringing to it the finest doctors and nurses no matter where they may live."

There may not be as many indications of it now as there were ten years ago, but the time inevitably must come when the people will insist on having the best qualified men and women working for them, no matter where they come from, just as most school boards today insist on choosing experienced administrators for superintendents of schools

no matter where they were born, educated, or previously employed. To believe otherwise would be to say we are ready to admit that democracy should be chucked in favor of an authoritarian form of government or the old boss rule against which so many cities have revolted.

The People Can Be Trusted

EVERY once in a while an allegedly thoughtful person comes forth with the pronouncement that all this idea of "making democracy work" efficiently and honestly is "Alice in Wonderland" stuff, that bellowing mountebanks and false inflammatory issues alone have popular appeal, that the people are neither interested in nor capable of making wise decisions on fundamental principles, *et cetera ad absurdum.*

The country editors who oppose consolidation of counties (because they would lose the official printing?) might do well to inform themselves and their readers of the Gallup poll which showed overwhelming disapproval (88 per cent)[1] of the old patronage idea in public employment.

They might also take note of the decisive renomination recently in Alabama of State Senator James A. Simpson. The issue there was clear. Senator Simpson, author of the Jefferson County civil service law, stood foursquare for the merit system in civil service. The fact that he was the first senator in the history of Jefferson County to be returned to office (nomination there is tantamount to election) shows clearly that the issue was not only understood but wisely acted upon by the voters.

Of course, it is seldom easy to get issues fairly before the people. Practically every move toward the improvement of government involves the decrease of someone's powers and privileges, and usually that someone is not unwilling to seize any weapon at hand to combat his opposition.

The situation in Illinois right now is a good case in point. Governor Horner included in his call for a special session of the state legislature the proposed enactment of legislation to enable all cities of that state to adopt the council-manager form of government. It immediately became very evident that the well entrenched political machines were going to do everything possible to prevent a fair understanding or even an unbiased statement of the issues involved.

The legislative committee conducting the hearings obviously was packed with manager plan opponents. When a labor leader from Cincinnati explained why organized labor of his city favored the manager plan, he was immediately branded a communist. The president of the Illinois Federation of Labor performed the intricate feat of maintaining that the council-manager plan was sponsored by reactionaries and communists and that it was fascism in its purest form. Pro-manager witnesses were constantly interrupted and heckled.

This episode illustrates a number of phenomena of the modern political scene, probably the chief among them the methods of machine politicians who have been driven to their last lines of defense, and one of the reasons why "downstaters" in Illinois distrust politicians from big cities like Chicago.

If the political powers that be will dare more often to give the people real issues to chew on, minus the usual beclouding hokum, they will find, frequently to their sorrow, that the people can be trusted.

[1]See "Public Opinion in Our Cities," by George Gallup, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1938.

A Politician: Old Style

By J. T. SALTER
University of Wisconsin

Author of "Boss Rule" sketches portrait of Honest Tom McIntyre—the Abe Lincoln of his organization—who carved a "career" out of politics.

LAWRENCE HYDE, in his critique of sociology, says: "Every situation with which the sociologist deals is the ultimate result of a series of small personal and domestic crises. The outer conditions which he investigates represent only the final expression of an infinite number of minor conflicts in the hearts of all sorts of individuals. What determines the circumstances, not only of a man and his family, but of a village, a city, and a nation, is an endless series of decisions, insignificant in themselves, but cumulatively of overpowering force. Such decisions are being made all the time by all kinds of people in all kinds of predicaments, and it is they that determine the final situation."[2]

Because I agree so thoroughly with this point of view, I propose to introduce a single politician who is powerful in a whole section of a great city. It is usually the "endless series of decisions, insignificant in themselves, but cumulatively of overpowering force" of such men and their lieutenants and followers that determine the outcome of great elections.

Of course, no one portrait can ever embody all of the outstanding characteristics of a politician, especially in times like these. But there is a certain norm that has been developed in America in both the large cities and the rural counties, over a long period of years. Honest Tom McIntyre, the man whom I am about to present, is such a man. He is the leader of one of his city's fifty wards, and has been very largely preoccupied with politics in his ward and city for something over fifty years. He is an old-style politician of the sort about whom, when American civilization becomes more mature, legendary lore will arise as legends have already arisen about our Wild Bill Hickoks and Kit Carsons.

And if some critic objects to a sketch of an organization ward leader at this time, one need only observe that in many elections, and not only those in large cities and states, but in presidential contests as well, the victorious candidate is usually the one with the best organization on his side. Today, because of the depression, the relief legislation of the administration, and the magnetic Roosevelt, this is less true than it was ten years ago and before that; but even today, and in spite of many protests, Roosevelt has not given up his Jim Farley.

Honest Tom is the leader in a ward that is more populous than are some well known cities in the west, and there are under him more than eighty division or precinct leaders—the "sales agents" who live in the "sales territory" that they represent—the men who meet the voters face to face. He differs from a division leader in somewhat the same way that an army major differs from a lieutenant. He has had more political experience, and if not that, he has greater capacity for experience, than have those under him. He has the vision, the physical energy, and the financial backing to apply division politics to half a hundred divisions—to a ward. He has superior connections with

[1]This is the first part of a biography to appear in the author's forthcoming book, *The American Politician*, to be published in October by the University of North Carolina Press.
[2]*The Learned Knife*, p. 74.

influential leaders in the city. He has resourcefulness that enables him to meet (save for the Great Depression) problems that arise in the life of his people. And finally, I venture to say that, in spite of marked shortcomings in both Honest Tom and the organization of which he is a part, there is something of him in successful politicians all over the land.

Honest Tom McIntyre

There he stood, talking to four or five men in the corridor of city hall just outside the door of the sergeant-at-arms' office—Honest Tom McIntyre, the Abe Lincoln of the organization, the "millionaire contractor" who got right down in the ditch with his men and then on Thursdays came right up out of the ditch to go to council. When he was first elected, legend has it, two men had to hold him while a third introduced him to his first white shirt. Now as he stood there in the great hall he seemed too big for his clothes. His rugged form would not be entirely confined. He is the athletic type, his head is large, and he has curly, grizzled hair, so thick that it must be wetted to be held in place. His skin has a deep, ruddy color that might have come from the wind and the sea or the drinking of much rum. He is the most profane man I have ever met, but for some magic reason the profanity is not revolting on his lips. It goes with his seaman's color, and heightens the illusion I always have when I see him that here is the captain of a ship, home from a far port. Civilization has not put him in a groove, nor broken him. His face is luminous and infinitely expressive—it is the chiseled Irish sort. His eyes are drooping, and remind one of the eyes of England's poet laureate, John Masefield—except that Honest Tom's eyes are always twinkling.

There he stood telling some friends a story—in that short section of the corridor, the observed of all observers. Councilman Phinney Green of the eleventh ward was going by, and I asked him to introduce me to McIntyre. I will not say that Honest Tom was in liquor, for I could not prove that he was, but he was highly exhilarated. When he heard that I wanted to write about him he smiled, put his hand on my shoulder and said, "Young man, I wouldn't want all of my record printed!" and laughed. A few minutes later he said: "I am Honest Tom, and if ever I am dishonest, I have never been caught. I can drink rum better than any man in the hall, and that goes whether it is good rum or bad—I can drink it." And with that he walked down the corridor a few steps and turned into the council chamber.

The session was about to begin. When McIntyre entered he spoke to nearly everyone standing along the wall, and everyone spoke to him. He had not gone twenty feet before he stopped and talked to two men. He was with them for several minutes; then he pulled away, and with a few more salutations sank into the cushions of his seat in time for roll call. He partly rose, answered, "Present," and said, "no bills, Mr. President."

His voice is low, and his answer never varies. Once I heard an old-timer refer to the councilman as Silent Tom. I was surprised. In the corridor or in his office he is the ribald talker—only he is so good-humored and he looks so clean and lusty that he never seems ribald—but he never addresses the chair in council. He told me that he gave up the practice when Butler was director of public safety. At that time he made an impassioned plea for the police

that was not supported by his colleagues. "I have not spoken in council since. What's the use?" When it comes to voting, however, he votes right, and the organization never worries.

Shortly after the roll call he grew restless; he ambled towards us and one of the men called out, "Hey, Tom, come over and have a seat." The councilman was pivoting about on one foot, with something of a smile on his face. To our invitation he laughed, and replied that he wouldn't associate with a damned bunch of crooks. A minute later, Honest Tom came up to me and said, "Young man, I will talk to you some time, and give you the real stuff."

A FRIEND TO EVERYONE

Since that time I have seen Councilman McIntyre many times, usually on Thursday afternoons in city hall, just outside the council chamber. His attitude is always the same. He is a man of high spirits, and a most pleasant fellow to meet. He can never walk from the elevator in the southeast corner of city hall to the councilmanic chambers without speaking to a dozen people, and sometimes he greets as many as fifty. One of his lieutenants told me this story: "One time Councilman McIntyre almost came face to face with Bill Vare as he was walking down a corridor in city hall. A crippled bum happened along at the same time. Honest Tom just waved his hand to Vare, saying, 'Hello, Bill,' and stopped and shook hands with the old bum." Sometimes he will stop and chat, and when he does a small group will immediately gather around him. It never matters what he is talking about—he is always interesting to hear. His great heartiness and charm enliven everyone and fill his spot in city hall with color and light. He is always greater than his words. His spirit stirs the heart. He is not all things to all men, but one thing to all men.

One Thursday, just before city council convened at 2 P. M., I found him talking to Magistrate L in the corridor on the fourth floor. I went over to them, and when Tom saw me he smiled and put his arm over my shoulder and drew me closer to them. He was in prime condition and most jovial—in happy contrast to the swarms of worried looking people who were jamming the corridors on the fourth and fifth floors of city hall to protest against a threatened increase in the tax rate. "Here is a man," said Honest Tom to the magistrate, "that is going to write the story of my life. I'll give him more damn stuff than he can put in two books, judge!" The judge emphatically agreed that he could do it.

Not many days after that, I walked into a spacious office on the fourth floor of Philadelphia's "hall of a thousand sorrows" and found the city's most exuberant councilman sitting at his desk there. He gave me a hearty greeting, and pointed to a colleague on the lounge across the room. "There," he said, "there is the man you ought to talk to. Doesn't he look like a politician? If he had on a striped suit he would be the perfect picture of a gang politician." I looked at Councilman Turley. He had a bull neck, a big, baggy middle that covered his lap as he sat, a small head, and small eyes that were always partly closed. He merely blinked as McIntyre spoke, and looked straight ahead. And during our whole interview, there he sat, not like a wooden Indian, but rather like three sacks of grain.

"I was born in Philadelphia," Honest Tom began. "My father and mother were from Ireland, my father from the County Derry, my mother from County Down. They were never in politics. My father always said I was a dirty

bum for going into politics. I was eighteen years old when I started. Just about that time I got into the contracting business. When I started out in politics, we used to meet in a cellar. We would have a half barrel of beer, some limburger cheese and crackers and, damn it, we had an awfully good time! There were stables behind our house. Every night there were so many fellows sleeping in the stables that I counted on their votes.

"My first job was judge of elections. This was the only job I wanted, for if we could control the judge, we could control the election. From twenty-one years of age on I was elected as judge of election either in this ward or in the seventy-ninth. For fifteen years I was judge of election in the ninth division of the sixty-second ward. It was known as the 'bloody ninth'. You should see the *Bulletin* for 1895. They have an article about me and how I voted forty people from my stable. They called me a small contractor then, and said I voted forty men from my stables. The bastards were all there, too. They wouldn't vote unless I marked their ballots and I always marked them, for I wouldn't trust any one of them. The night that article appeared my mother said, 'You're sorry now, ain't you?' I had just brought home a load of gravel. I told her, 'Mother, there is a million people that know me today that never heard of me before.'

"Calkins, the ward leader of the fifty-sixth ward, refused to seat me on the ward committee, although I was elected every year from the time I was twenty-one years of age until I was elected to the city committee and the select council in 1907.

"Later I went over to the seventy-ninth ward and got elected as judge of elections over there. I wanted to help the boys out and show them just how politics were done. However, they talked about putting me in prison for voting away from home so I resigned as judge. When I was elected to council from the fifty-sixth ward, the boys of the seventy-ninth said, 'You're a fine ——— to be elected to council!' But I won, and I won for my friends! I never took a drink of rum until I got elected to council. I've been elected to council ever since and have served under seven mayors. In the old days I was always elected to select council.

INDEPENDENTS PLAY THE GAME

"The Washington Party (an anti-organization group) was strong then. Some of the leaders in my section asked me if I wanted them to endorse me. I said, 'Yes.' Later I asked them what it would cost. They said they would let me decide after the primary. One night eight of these leaders sneaked over to my house the back way. They explained that they did not want to be seen in my presence. I said, 'All right.' I got out a quart of whisky and gave each of them a good drink. I won the nomination by a large vote. None of these fellows ever came back to get their pay. When I saw them I said, 'Why don't you fellows come and see me?' 'Tom,' they said, 'you got such a big majority that we thought you would forget all about your promise.' I said, 'No, I never go back on my word.' I asked them what their help was worth. They said, 'Fifty dollars apiece.' So I took out a roll of bills and put one hundred dollars before each of them. I then got out a bottle of rum and gave each of them a drink. They took not only one drink, but two, and after that no one could ever lick me.

"The organization gave Fox money to get elected to the city committee. Fox actually had four more committeemen than I had. The night of the election one of my committeemen was going in the room, and he was asked who he

was going to vote for. He knew then that I could not be elected. But Rainer, my committeeman, said, 'Old McIntyre is good enough for me.' That was in 1906. Fox beat me for the last time in that election. The next year I was elected, and I have been ever since."

I asked McIntyre how he inspired such high loyalty in his men. I had talked to seven of them, including the leader of the women's organization in the fifty-sixth ward, and they are all, lock, stock and barrel, for Honest Tom just as Rainer had been twenty-five years ago.

LOYALTY REWARDED

"I can answer that question in a minute. I never met a soul that was on the ward committee that I didn't use my best efforts to make him a friend; no matter if he had voted against me before, I still tried to get him to go along with me. It all depends on how you use the people as to how far or how well you will go. Ask the colored men in my ward. They will tell you that I am the only 'white man' that they know. Some people want to be too stingy, and will not give anything away, or they want all the credit for themselves. I know enough to believe that I wouldn't be worth a damn if it wasn't for the fellows that go with me. I made a study of that at the start. I realized then that there was room enough for a good leader if he gave credit to those that helped him. Play fair with your neighbors and they will never fail you. Some time ago Parker, my opponent, wanted ten of my committeemen to vote for him for the city committee, but they refused; so Mayor Moore fired all ten. However, I paid each of them one hundred dollars a month until I got another job for them. When Parker asked them to vote for him they all said, 'Go to hell!' It cost me between ten and fourteen thousand dollars to take care of these ten men who had been fired for loyalty to me. One day I spoke to Ed Vare about it. Vare said that he would write me a check. I said, 'Damn it, Ed, I am paying these men, and I don't want a check, but I do want them to get a job!' Vare got them a job. You see, I was paying only one hundred dollars a month, and when they got a job they were getting at least eighteen hundred dollars a year.

"Both in my contracting work and in politics I stay close to my men. I work with them now. I throw the stuff in mixers. I work with them and keep them going. The sooner we finish a job the more money we make.

"I was born in the nineteenth ward. My father was in the milk business—he always kept about sixty head of cows. Till I growed up to be damn near a man I herded them around the vacant lots. But when the country got built in around us we moved with the cows to the fifty-sixth ward section. The cows would get the sidewalks dirty and the board of health got after us, and so we had to move. For the last sixty years I have lived in the fifty-sixth ward, and when my sister died, she left me the property, though I now live in Atlantic City."

As McIntyre talked his face was flushed and his eyes sparkled, and he seemed to relish the idea of talking about his life in politics. When I asked if his father had been in politics, he said, "Hell, no! My father said that I was a fool for going in. He voted for me the first time but never after that, because I learned to drink in city council. At one of my later elections he asked a friend how I was making out. The friend said, 'What do you care? You won't vote for him.' My father said, 'I know, but then you see, he is my son, and I would like to see him come through.' "

I suggested that politics was a strenuous game. He disagreed. He said, "Oh, no, not if you play it right. I go to Atlantic City at 6 o'clock, look the papers over, have supper and go to bed at nine. I go to sleep at once. In the morning I read the *Record* because I know if there is any scandal about the politicians the *Record* will publish it. At night time I get the *Bulletin*. In the morning at Atlantic City I get six or seven papers and give them to my friends." At this point, Dick Moore, his friendly lieutenant, spoke up and said, "Tell him about the lunches, Tom." Tom smiled and said, "Oh, yes, I take my friends to lunch."

I asked him if he read books. He said that he did, but, "I can't think of the name of the book." He added, "Oh, damn it, I bet my sister had five hundred. I just pick them up and read the one I come to. I like to read about shipwrecks and that sort of thing."

WHO WEARS THE TOGA

I told Honest Tom that I thought that I could understand why he was a leader, but, "Take Grimm, for instance; what has he got that makes for leadership?" The councilman paused and answered, "I wish I knew. A fellow like Grimm is a disappointment to a real leader. He was made overnight by Vare. Such an outrage!" One of McIntyre's standers-by expressed the opinion, "He is a counterfeit!" Honest Tom answered, "Yes, but his job is not a counterfeit!" The councilman's reply demonstrated his ability to strike at the jugular vein in an argument. Almost invariably the organization leader places the toga on an old-time committeeman, but in the case of Grimm he was placed in a ward specifically for the purpose of being made a leader. Vare wanted a man he could trust implicitly.

One morning when I saw Honest Tom in Dick Moore's office I thought of Albert Jay Nock's feeling about the characters in Dickens—"But how interesting! Why, one would walk miles unending to meet one of them and, having met him, would haunt him and delightedly follow him up and down the earth!" He gave me a lusty greeting; he was in top form. He asked me and Zeke Moran, the detail man of another ward leader, to come down to his office. There he passed around a box of Antony and Cleopatra cigars. We each took one. Just then two men came in, one a rather humble and ordinary looking man of about fifty, who went up to Tom and, with a most appreciative expression, started to thank him. His ward leader interrupted. "Did it cost you a 'hundred'?" The man answered, "No, he gave me three years probation!" He gave the man a friendly pat on the back, and the man went out. He doubtless had a new feeling of independence; he was beholden to no man, but forevermore Honest Tom was his friend. A more human acknowledgment of a service rendered could not be imagined. But the benefactor thought no more about the matter. "I told the judge to give him probation—that he had no money—that he would not handle, drink or sell any wet goods again," he said as he dismissed the matter.

In personal conversation or in talking to a small group, Honest Tom is as alive as a character in Rabelais, but on a platform, before two hundred or five hundred people, part of his magic is lost in thin air. The distance is too great. One night during the summer, I was one of a hundred and fifty on the lawn in front of the U. V. W. Ward Club. Several ward leaders made rather effective speeches. When Honest Tom stood in the spotlight he smiled, and everyone cheered. He told the people that he couldn't say much there. "But I got

a nice farm on the other side of the county line. After this primary I want all of my friends to come out there and have a drink of rum." The applause was immediate. Later in the campaign he spoke before six hundred in a neighboring ward. The night was sweltering hot, as Philadelphia nights in September are likely to be. Again McIntyre made the briefest of speeches. "I think we got awful nerve. We got an awful gall to keep you people here in this hot building. Anyone here for any time at all knows who I am and where I stand. I guess my two minutes are up." Again there was great applause, not because of the words that had been said, but because this man was the man they knew and loved.

DEPRESSION AND DEFEAT

Honest Tom's innate spirit is as blithe today as it was when his party was the only party in Philadelphia. But the *elan vital* has gone from his people, or they have become more restive under Republican leadership in general and the Councilman McIntyre brand in particular. The depression, the great destroyer of jobs, traditions, wealth, and personalities, had squarely settled on the voters and their families in the fifty-sixth ward, and they knew it. They did not know any solution for their ills or the ills of the economic system under which they lived, but thousands who had never voted Democratic before did so more often than not in the years since 1932. Honest Tom lost his ward in these years because his people were suffering, and he could not make it up to them.

As I bid him good-by on my last visit to his city, I thought how long ago it was since he had begun his strenuous life in dead earnest—before he was eighteen. For more than fifty years he has been on the winning side in politics; now it must seem hard to face a series of defeats. One hundred victories in the past cannot add up to a sum as impressive as one defeat in the present. Today in city hall the Republicans say that his ward has turned sour; Honest Tom says that his people have not jobs; he thought he saw the handwriting on the wall and was not a candidate for reelection to council. Had he been, he would have won his eighth term, for Philadelphia went Republican in 1935. The Great Depression has liquidated personalities as well as fortunes. However, Honest Tom's skin is thick; his heart is stout. He may be beaten today, but he will not give up. Only death can remove men of his breed from politics.

* * *

The foregoing fragment of a sketch was written several years ago, right at the beginning of Democratic victories in the city of the Union League Club and stalwart Republicanism. Since that time many of the details of politics have changed, but the pattern remains the same. Honest Tom drinks less, devotes more time to buying and selling tax delinquent properties, still manages his ward (although he has another person represent it on the Republican Central Campaign Committee), and instead of being in council, is one of the three members of the Civil Service Commission. The other two members are politicians too. And if you ask, "Isn't it odd to have a ward leader as the one who administers the merit system? Aren't the very spirit and content of his training, background, and interests hostile to the cardinal principles of the merit system?" And if, instead of glibly saying, "Yes," I remind you that usually two out of the three members of the United States Civil Service Commission are politicians—regulars in an art or trade that stems back in history before "Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel," you will see that Honest

Tom is not unique, nor is he an individual, but rather he is a symbol of a civilization. His tragedy and ours is that we naturally are loyal to people and organizations that we know and can see and love or fear. Abstract principles or artificial persons like municipal corporations weigh little with us. The city of Philadelphia may be invisible, it may not be articulate, it may not even be a still small voice in our deliberations. If I were to go to Honest Tom today and say, "Suppose I want to get on the public payroll but I cannot pass the examination, what could you do?" he would give me his most engaging smile and say, "Young man, you wouldn't want me to tell you just what I could do, would you?" And then, after a pause, "but I could do something, and I would—for I always help my friends."

POSTSCRIPT

A final justification for a sketch of Honest Tom is that he is the sort of politician that any one of us who may decide to take a hand in the governing of his own community may be forced to deal with. One may have to cooperate with him or fight him. In either case, it is important to know him. A physician would not be worthy of his medical degree if he refused to study a pathological condition that did not please his aesthetic sense. A voter, no matter how distinguished in his own right, cannot strengthen the democracy in which he lives by merely deploring the Honest Toms, without trying to comprehend them and their roots, and the needs they satisfy. Honest Tom has been and still continues to be, a ward leader in a powerful party organization; for more than twenty-five years he was a councilman in a great city and now he is a civil service commissioner. Of those that think he is not the sort of person to determine the policies of the government of Philadelphia—and there are many such—I ask what the one who protests is doing about it. He may make some indignant remark in the bosom of his family, but is he doing anything to stir, agitate, or guide opinion for getting a better qualified person in the city of Philadelphia? Some other writer has well remarked that votes, like babies, require both time and labor to produce. Neither are dropped down chimneys by storks. Honest Tom and his friends give this time and labor to produce votes 365 days each year. They take infinite pains to capture the voters' attention. Citizens who contribute nothing in educating or in guiding the voters' attention are even less useful to democracy than Honest Tom.

A few weeks ago, while talking to Carl Sandburg about politics in a cabin on the edge of Lake Michigan, I asked if he had ever thought of becoming a candidate for Congress. He gave me the most honest answer that I have ever received to this question. He said, "I am a writing man and I do not know the political game. But if I had no more books to write nor any more songs to sing, and I wanted a life of routine misery, I would become a candidate." He paused, and then added, "but if things go on as they have been going on around here, I am going to begin to ask some questions. I am going to ask Lynn Edinger and Kenneth Holden (two of his neighbors) why we do not get some better men to represent us in our government."

Hackensack Confounds a Legend

New Jersey city no longer contends with inefficient administration. Its manager government, adopted in 1933, has restored credit and rendered new services on a cash basis at lower cost.

MIRIAM ROHER
National Municipal League

IN THE American scene, banks have always held a place of peculiar honor. Even the disillusioning corrosive of the depression did not quite succeed in wiping out the legend that in banks resided all the efficiencies and all the solid virtues most highly prized by good Americans. In banks one could find spotless marble floors and spotless marble minds, the right degree of conservative good sense combined with just enough foresight and civic conscience. All good little boys desired to grow up to be bank clerks, sit in a cage, and take in money, while their papas wished that they themselves had grown up to be bank presidents.

At the same time another legend became just as firmly fixed in the American folklore. The government of cities has always held a place of peculiar dishonor. In all city halls, so the impression went, could be found filthy offices full of idle fellows who spat regularly into convenient spittoons, held fat black cigars with the right hand, and raked in the public shekels with the left. Politicians were rated as less than thieves, and mothers whose sons thus deserted the straight and narrow were supposed to have failed in their sacred task of rearing the young.

But no culture is static. An illustration of the degree to which ours has changed may be found just across the river from the former stronghold of Tammany Hall. Two years ago the city government of Hackensack, New Jersey, moved lock, stock, and barrel into a new city hall, a magnificent edifice with marble entrance hall and curving staircase. This building was not, however, the habitat of a mob of cigar-smoking political gentry. The site was not purchased from a ward-heeler at an astronomical figure. No well connected contractor realized pleasant profits in the course of constructing the place. If there were a councilmanic manufacturer of office equipment, he did not find his business suddenly endowed for life as the result of a large sale to the city. As a matter of fact, the Hackensack city hall, which cost its builders $250,000, was bought by the city, after some bargaining, for the sum of $89,000, furnished!

The seller was a bankrupt title company.

The removal was thoroughly symbolic of the quick and startling metamorphosis of Hackensack government which occurred from the moment that the city manager plan went into operation.

City Manager Wilder M. Rich took over a city on the verge of bankruptcy. Prior to July 1933, when the new form took effect, Hackensack bonds had been offered at 58 with no takers. Taxes were high, administration inefficient. The spittoon atmosphere, with most of the trimmings, prevailed. But ignorance, inefficiency, corruption, and the depression finally combined forces to send Hackensack not only into default but into a change of municipal scene. The "rascals" went out and Mr. Rich came in.

It was not long before municipal management had proved itself almost as wise, conservative, forward-looking, ef-

ficient, and sound as any bank management of the legendary halcyon days. Financially, as well as physically, the once defaulted city now enjoys a bank-like position. Not only is it now on a cash basis, but it has achieved this enviable position without hoisting the tax rate. In 1934 the city tax rate (excluding school and county) was 2.19 on a valuation of $39,000,000. The total rate was 4.44. In 1937 the city tax rate had dropped to 2.16 although the total rate had jumped to 4.74 and the valuation had dropped off about a million dollars. For 1938 a further drop in property valuation of three million dollars forced an increase in the tax rate to 2.48, at the same time that the total tax rate reached 5.32.

FIRST STEPS TO SOUND FINANCING

One of the manager's first official acts was to devise a program for refunding the debt piled up by the previous administration with resultant flattening and redistribution of the debt service curve. Indeed, so sound did the city's financial position become that it was possible to buy the new city hall for cash and on the spot. This is the kind of quick action, essential to bargaining strategy, which was seldom if ever within the reach of the always financially embarrassed cities of the legend.

A municipality's chief reason for being, of course, is to give service to the community as a whole. But in the extent and nature of the services rendered a city does well to display the foresight and efficiency commonly attributed to private financial institutions. Hackensack appears to be realizing this double-barrelled objective. In spite of the heritage of the freebooting days which preceded the present regime —a heritage now concretized in the forced devotion of more than half the total annual budget to debt service— Hackensack has been able to lead the way in supplying unique services to its 29,000 inhabitants.

As a matter of actual practice, Hackensack has more than 29,000 inhabitants. Located in the midst of the great suburban area outside metropolitan New York City, it serves as a center for more than 125,000 shoppers. This means not only better business for Hackensack but also heavier reliance on municipal services, which must in many respects be keyed as high as those of a city of 75,000.

ROAD COSTS DROP

In this motor-minded era, for instance, a surburban shopping center has an especial need of good roads. Toward the most expeditious achievement of this end, the manager has cannily set to work all the means at the disposal of a modern city. He purchased machinery which, set against the cost of renting the same machinery for successive road-building jobs, saved the city many times the purchase price. With this machinery at hand, moreover, Hackensack was able to drive a number of advantageous bargains with the good depression fairy of municipal government—the Federal Works Progress Administration. In Hackensack relief work not only maintained the needy but also served to supply the community most economically with durable public works. It will be noted that the latter objective has not always been realized in other cities less sure of what they wanted and how to get it.

In the building of roads, the state of New Jersey was also dragged in as the city's ally. The unconquerable manager twice approached state authorities with the proposal that the city would take a certain number of relief recipients off the state's hands (this was at a time when the state took a more prominent

part in relief activities), and set them to work on municipal road building projects, if the state would agree to hand over to the city the amount it would have spent on relief allowances for these individuals. Twice the state refused this sensible offer. The third time, however, it capitulated—making Hackensack the only New Jersey city to drive such a bargain.

Withal, the cost of road-building has gone down—an experience not entirely common in cities where WPA meant a joyous holiday of spending someone else's money. In 1933, prior to the arrival of the manager, macasphalt paving cost $2.25 per square yard. In 1937 it cost $1.77. In 1933 new stone on an old road and screening cost 78 cents per square yard; in 1937, only 54 cents. Paving with three inches of stone and two inches of asphalt penetration now costs from 71 to 81 cents a square yard and with three inches of penetration only $1.00 a square yard—cheap enough, as any highway engineer will testify.

A second, and unique, achievement in the facilitation of transportation was the enlistment of WPA funds in the building of a municipal bus terminal, one of the only two in the country. Here again is evidenced shrewd recognition of the special needs of a special kind of city. Hackensack is now thirty-five minutes by bus from Times Square in New York City. An average of 700 busses daily use the terminal. Local factory owners, local business men dependent on the trade of satellite suburbs, local owners of real estate, could tell the reader why the bus terminal is important.

But the good fairy's wand waved not only over the roads but over that which borders all urban roads—the homes of men and women. WPA was asked to contribute—and did—to the protection of those homes in the building of a central fire alarm station, located outside the fire danger zone, highly recommended to cities by the National Board of Fire Underwriters. Even a firehouse conflagration could not now prevent the reception of a fire alarm, for the fireproof central alarm station, set off alone, in a park, is practically indestructible.

A PENNY SAVED IS A PENNY EARNED

Municipal efficiency in the new bank-like era runs to amusingly anecdotal trivialities, as well as to impressive sums and large achievements. The visitor to the municipal greenhouse may note that many of the young plants do not grow in conventional flowerpots but in wooden cheese boxes, row upon row of them. If he inquires on this phenomenon, he will be told that the manager of the municipal incinerator saves them for the municipal nurseryman. A homely illustration of the interdepartmental coördination to be found in city manager cities!

The city manager himself is not exempt from the smaller enthusiasms. Manager Rich, small and quick, let his eyes rest fondly on three shining garbage trucks in the new red brick truck storage shed (more WPA).

"Two years old! Would you believe it? They're washed every night."

A fourth truck rolled in. Sure enough, the driver swung down from his seat and began the manicuring of his vehicle.

Civic zeal profits even from murder. Not long ago two motorists were murdered in Hackensack—two separate murders. The police department, as a good police department should, set out to track down the culprits. The administration, however, noted with interest that the deceased left neither heirs nor creditors. In a short time, therefore, the

city found itself possessed of two excellent automobiles. The first cost $15, the price of clearing title. The second cost $105, the amount which the former owner still owed on the purchase price.

It is to be hoped that the present drivers of these vehicles are not superstitious!

Sudden conversion is always suspect. When naughty little Edgar becomes all at once a quiet little gentleman at the dinner table, Mother is justified in wondering whether silence betides an after-dinner assault on the small change in her pocketbook. Similarly, when a "bad" city reforms, pessimistic citizens shake their heads and wait for the inevitable second-term battle between tired reform and rejuvenated machine. Is Hackensack different? Is the bank here to stay, the spittoon gone forever?

It would appear that Hackensack *is* different in the same way that most manager cities are different. Good government, it seems, is here to stay in Hackensack, because it depends not only on that delicate flower, righteous citizen indignation, but also on the habit of good government, and the right mechanism for getting it.

Letters to the Editor

(Continued from Page 350)

units of government. In summary, the bureau reported that, besides the national government, there were 182,651 political units having power to levy taxes or incur debt, as follows:

48	States
1	District, Columbia
3,062	Counties
16,442	Cities, towns, villages and boroughs
128,548	School districts
19,978	Townships (including town governments having similar functions, such as in New York, Wisconsin, and the New England states)
14,572	Other civil divisions (drainage, road, park, sanitary, irrigation, reclamation, fire, lighting, cemetery, navigation, port, waterworks, etc.)

The census volume reports this classification for each state.

It is perhaps beside the point to argue Mr. Carlson's statement that "tax burdens are due to the multiplicity of such units." I should be inclined to state that even were the ultimate in consolidation achieved, the resultant reduction in taxation would not greatly affect the existing tax burden. From studies made while I was in Detroit of the possible economies of consolidations of local units, it is my opinion that the reduction in taxes would be surprisingly small.

In seeking ways and means of tax reduction, we must look rather to an examination of the purposes for which taxes are expended, the necessity for the vast range of governmental activities, and the effectiveness in administration. The roads to economy in local government are many and well marked. This, however, is not to derogate reasonable proposals for consolidation, with the resultant savings.

C. E. Rightor

Chief Statistician, Statistics of States and Cities, Bureau of the Census

State Printing—

Monopoly or Competition

JEFFERSON CITY, June 19.—The Midland Printing Company of Jefferson City was the sole bidder yesterday for the state printing and binding contracts.

By

ESTAL E. SPARLIN
University of Arkansas

Great financial savings reported by states in which "individual job" system of letting printing contracts has been introduced.

THUS was the awarding of a $500,000 contract by a state government recorded in a secluded spot on the back page of the daily newspaper. "Monopoly run rampant," business men call it; "politics," the reformer cries; "inefficiency," the administrator designates it; "Oh, how long?" the taxpayer moans.

The same year, the state of Massachusetts utilized 151 different plants for its printing. It was nothing unusual for the Bay State to have fifteen or twenty firms bidding on individual items of printing advertised by the Commission on Administration and Finance.

Politics, graft, and all those things play their part in the state printing situation, but a few administrative devices employed by the Massachusetts printing agency could help a great deal in Missouri and seventeen other states where a "class system" of letting printing contracts prevails.[1]

There is a significant difference between the individual job system used by Massachusetts and eleven other states[2] and the class system. Under the latter, bids are taken on large amounts of printing and contracts awarded for a period of time; specific publications are not mentioned in the contracts. Under the individual job system, specifications are written on each printing job so there can be no doubt by either the state or the printers as to what is desired by the former and what the latter expects to deliver.

In Kentucky, a class-system state, the statutes divide the printing of the state into four classes, as follows: (1) all matter ordered by the General Assembly, including the laws and journals; the printing and binding of all reports and miscellaneous printing necessary for departments; (2) all blank books used by the counties; (3) lithographic printing; (4) paper for state printing.

It can readily be seen that practically all the state printing is included in one class, the first one. The statutes further require the contract to be for a four-year period. Suppose you were asked to furnish a bid on class 1, above? Printers in the state—except the *one* who has held the contract during the preceding four years—are about as competent to furnish such a bid as the ordinary layman.

A printing measurement known as the square "em" makes possible the class system contracts. The use of the square "em" system corresponds roughly to the use of the square inch. The basic principles are the same, the difference being

[1]Other class-system states: Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia.

[2]Other individual-job states: Georgia, Maryland, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia.

technical. Thus, in the class system of contracting, the printing firm specifies that it will set and print all the type which the state requires during the next two or four years at so much per square. The printer gambles that most of the state printing requirements will be easy to compose. The printer also gambles on the quantity of type which the state will need, for the contract does not say how much. But gambling has absolutely no place in scientific governmental purchasing!

MONOPOLY CONTRACTS

There are many other defects in the class system of contracting for printing. The great variety of printing included within any one class is striking indeed. For instance, the Louisiana Class B includes all reports of state officers, pamphlets ordered by the legislature, and the session laws. Some of these reports contain only a few sheets; others contain hundreds of pages. The auditor's report and the insurance report may contain page after page of intricate tables, difficult to set, while other pages of the same report may be blank or contain little material. One page may cost the printer ten dollars to compose and print, while the opposite page may cost him only fifty cents. One paragraph may be set in small six-point type, while the following paragraph is set in fourteen-point. In Kentucky, the bulk of the state printing is in one class. This means that the legislative printing, the departmental reports, and the utility printing are crammed into one bid sheet and let for four years in one contract. The contract does not specifically name or describe the publications.

If the state pays the printer for type by the square, as it does under the class system, he is encouraged to "stretch the type out" so that it occupies more squares. He may use extended type and wide spaces between words. It costs him more to set difficult tables, yet he is paid at the same rate as for easier material. Hence, he will be encouraged to put pressure on the governmental departments, attempting to eliminate difficult tables from some publications.

In several states the grouping together of such great quantities of printing has eliminated from bidding all the printing plants in the state except one. For example a Jefferson City plant has monopolized the state printing in Missouri under the class system for upwards of fifty years.

Until a few years ago, one firm in Albany supplied all the New York State printing because the state secured its printing in two or three classes. No other firm in that part of New York was large enough to bid on the huge classes, for there were always some jobs in each class which could not be printed outside Albany. If any small job in a large class had to be done in Albany, then the whole class had to be done there. Since 1930, approximately one-third of the New York printing has been divided into about sixteen classes, making the classes small enough that printing firms in Buffalo, Syracuse, and New York City enter the competition. The state saved approximately $100,000 in one year as a result of this division of classes. The other two-thirds of the state printing still goes to one firm in Albany.

The superintendent of printing of Iowa vividly portrays the disadvantages of the class system as follows:

> Leaks from excessive prices arise in many states, and also in cities and counties, under blanket contracts and blanket schedules of prices that are made to cover too wide a range and variety of items to work out otherwise than to the advantage of the contractor. . . . The state

> or city or county gets stung when, as the lingo goes, you "throw 'er all in and let 'er ride." That is the line of least resistance so far as administration goes, and it is the way whereby the state of Iowa formerly paid, in outstanding instances, as much as $2,000 for an item now bought for $200 with an additional cost of administration negligible in amount as applied in due proportion to the one item.[8]

The report of the Iowa Printing Board cites savings to the extent of thousands of dollars merely in the change from the class system to a semi-individual-job system.

The individual-job system involves the procurement of printing on the basis of the individual job or single piece of work. In this system the printing copy for a specifically designated publication or job is analyzed as it comes from the using agency; definite specifications about which there can be no doubt on the part of either the state or the printers are compiled, proposal sheets are written, printers notified, bids taken, and contracts awarded.

COMPETITION BRINGS GREAT SAVINGS

The individual-job system overcomes most of the defects of the class system. Under it certain types of printing can be grouped together. The individual-job system does not necessitate that each bill of the legislature be contracted for separately. All these bills can be let in one contract. However, the contract may be let for one session of the legislature only. The specifications should clearly state exactly what the state expects of the contractor and, in turn, what the contractor can expect from the state.

Other publications of the state should be carefully analyzed from the content and typographical standpoint. The state printing agency should exercise great precaution to see that all the elements are clearly described in the specifications and bid sheets. Jobs should be small enough so that a maximum number of firms will be encouraged to enter the competition. Only through the use of the individual-job system is it possible to take advantage of these important principles.

When the Massachusetts Commission of Administration and Finance was established it was given extensive powers over the printing of the state. The commission immediately changed from a class system to an individual-job system. The printing costs of the state dropped 50 per cent in the succeeding years. Of this amount, at least half of the saving is attributed by the commission to the change from a class system to the individual-job system.

For many years the states have been gradually abandoning the class system of printing contracts. In California, Nevada, Kansas, Oregon, and Washington, this abandonment of the class system resulted in the establishment of state printing plants. All of the twelve states having the individual job system at the present time used the class system some time in the history of their printing procurement. Massachusetts changed from the class to the individual-job system in 1920, South Dakota in 1925, and Rhode Island in 1935. So far as is known, no state has ever changed from the individual-job system to the class system.

This trend is far too slow. Many state purchasing budgets suffer from inadequate printing contracts.

[8] Report, Iowa Printing Division, 1924, p. 34.

Local Forums and Local Government

By WALTER J. MILLARD

Field secretary of National Municipal League considers the public forum an excellent means of reporting the work of local administrators and of helping citizens form opinions concerning future municipal policies.

THE motive power of a democracy derives from the opinions of its citizens. The clearer these are, the more they rest on fact and digested experience, the more they have been compared with the opinions of others, the better for the democracy whether it be a great nation or a village. Opinions so fashioned are held with a deep enthusiasm which dictators cannot create though they use most rigorous regimentation.

Studies of the processes used consciously or unconsciously in opinion-making have come from the pens of many political scientists of note. All pay high tribute to that process we have come to call a public forum. Because the term is ancient it is applied indiscriminately to all sorts of gatherings. The crowds that assemble in Union Square and Columbus Circle in New York, on the pier at Santa Monica, and in "Bug-House Square" in Chicago may, by a stretch of the imagination, be called forums. Because, after the reading of a paper before a section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, there is a discussion period, this gathering can also be called a forum. A broad definition might be, "a group that carries on discussion of questions of more or less public interest." After such a group has disbanded, the participants, both those who speak and those who do not, have been changed. If this change is for the better, we call the effect *education*.

For a long time professional educators concerned with civic education in its broadest sense have realized that if the forum process were put under the direction of trained, disinterested leadership greater social good would ensue. The value forums have achieved under such leadership is evident from the work of such organizations as the Open Forum National Council, the Chicago Forum Council, and the Town Hall of New York. But all such forums, supported as they are by donations and subscriptions, have been able to affect only a fraction of the people.

Meanwhile, men within the public school systems have come more and more to the belief that their complete job covered more than the education of youth. So far as the adult was concerned, however, the school systems contented themselves with night classes where vocational and cultural subjects were taught. Laudable as was all such work, there were educators who believed that the civic education of the adult, the process of guiding active, intelligent citizenship, lay within the province of the public school systems.

One such public school man was Dr. John W. Studebaker, and as superintendent of schools of Des Moines he began to institute a program of public forums. A grant from the Carnegie Foundation enabled this to be done in a thoroughgoing manner. The problems of local government are topics which forum audiences want discussed and among those invited to lead forums on such subjects in Des Moines were Howard P. Jones, secretary of the Na-

tional Municipal League, Dr. Henry Hodges, director of the Cincinnati Municipal Reference Bureau, and the writer of this article. Forums gathered somewhere in the city each evening, two were held at noontime, and one comprised the employees of an insurance company and met at the close of a work day. High school students also arranged forums and entered into the discussion like veterans.

In a sense, the field work of the National Municipal League has always been based upon the forum method. Not only has anyone present at group meetings been encouraged to ask questions and add comment, but suggestions for reaching the high objective of good local government have been sought from both citizens and public officials. But most groups that the writer has an opportunity to meet are made up of those who have considerable background concerning the matters discussed, whereas it is necessary that the masses of the people be reached if the principles agreed to by all thinkers in the field are given wider application. During campaigns for new city charters and the like we have an approach to the desired situation but all too often emotion also enters the picture at such times and the judgment of many is obscured.

In the Des Moines forums one actually came to meet the ordinary citizens; to explain to them and discuss with them the principles of good local administration in the atmosphere of a schoolroom was a heartening experience. One day when in a barber chair the writer was surprised to have the barber say: "I think the forums you are conducting, sir, are among the most useful of any I've attended." The man was a home owner, with a boy in high school. Before we parted we went over again the points of the discussion he had last heard. Every attempt is made to get "participation," but this man said he had never spoken at any of the meetings though he went regularly. From his conversation, however, it was evident he had participated in a real sense.

FEDERAL GRANT FOR FORUMS

Before the Des Moines experiment was concluded, Dr. Studebaker had become United States commissioner of education. He found his own interest in forums was matched by public schoolmen over the country. A grant of funds from the national treasury was obtained and in the season of 1936-37 a far-flung experiment was conducted. In nineteen centers, carefully selected to provide the greatest possible difference of background, a total of 10,481 forums were held. For about twenty weeks, five nights a week, some topic concerning local government was explained for about half an hour, followed by discussion, with questions asked and answered for about three-quarters of an hour to an hour. The audiences ranged in size from three hundred to thirty and the educational background from shrewd but practically illiterate mountaineers to deans of universities with strings of degrees. In the day there were student groups ranging from boys in CCC camps to post-graduate seminars in gothic halls.

Some of the remarks made by participants are memorable. After showing a group some of the newer types of municipal reports, a downeast Yankee said, "Oh, I see, if we had more graphs, we'd have less graft." A tobacco farmer in North Carolina said, "I don't like the form of the question, 'Where should the axe in taxes fall?' It implies taxes are a bad thing. They are not. I need the service I get from my taxes and I would not do without them." An Italian-born fruit dealer in Stamford, Connecticut, said, "The town officers propose to pay a consulting engineer several thousand dollars to supervise the erection of an incinerator. I think they should pay

him a few more thousand and give him a permanent job to boss all the work done in the town. There's no one that heads everything now."

This year another forum experiment has been conducted, but on a somewhat smaller scale. The writer has served in six centers. The school boards and principals within a certain area have made coöperative use of the leader's time. These centers have been Anderson, Indiana; southern Illinois; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Warren County and Somerset County, New Jersey; and the area surrounding Columbia, South Carolina.

To talk about good local government in Kalamazoo might seem like carrying coals to Newcastle, but it was interesting to discover that the problem of the relation of the city to its suburbs outside its limits is one which bristles with difficulties. A legislative commission of South Carolina recently issued a report severely criticizing the officials of Columbia for lax law enforcement and the forum participants naturally brought up in discussion the question of how to remedy the matter. Such a practical situation calls for all the tact and impartiality a forum leader can display and yet at the same time to be helpful he must be specific.

No attempt is made to convert anyone to anything. The leader, instead of giving his own opinion, prefers to get those present to write or otherwise get in touch with cities, authorities, and organizations which can give concrete suggestions and experience. Above all, these forums are definitely told that they are not action groups. No resolutions are passed, and no votes are taken. If as a result of forum discussions citizens organize to make what they think are appropriate changes in their local government, they must do it at another place and time and in such a way that the forum is not involved.

Nevertheless, action does occur which is of benefit. In a small Illinois town the mayor came to the forum with a chart which attempted to show the sources of municipal income and the main types of expenditure. The mayor's purpose was good but the chart was crude. Several high school seniors were present. The upshot was that in school time they reconstructed the chart with bar and pie diagrams, and copies were placed where they came to public notice.

LOCAL OFFICIALS PARTICIPATE

The technique of conducting these forums is not a fixed one. It is a frequent practice of the writer to invite a local officer to give an explanation of his job and problems and then set against that the practice and experience elsewhere. Between one forum meeting and the next many people will have a question occur to them concerning what has been discussed; hence it is wise to begin the second forum by first dealing with such questions.

The questions and discussions are revealing. Many citizens do not realize the limitations placed upon local officials, and that such limitations are not only contained in state law but are often state constitutional limitations. Citizens have only a relatively small amount of information concerning the accomplishments of their local officials. It would seem that the usual invitation to attend the budget hearing fails of its purpose; the legal red tape which surrounds council meetings makes them such dry-as-dust affairs as to be uninviting. Publicity better suited to the situation is needed. Forums are a fine means by which civic ignorance can be dispelled and they offer a splendid place for officials to give an account of their stewardship.

But this last opens up an important question concerning elected officers who

probably will offer themselves for re-election: to what degree will they make appearances at forums an opportunity to increase their chance of re-election? If this cannot be entirely prevented, shall prospective candidates not in office be invited also? If the forum is held in a settlement house, this problem can be met, but if forums are held in public schools there are those who may hold that we will transgress the rule of no political meetings in the public schools if candidates for office speak.

In parts of Canada there is no such rule. The principal of a school acts as chairman and all candidates have an equal time to speak and answer questions. The school authorities pay for having the school open, the older pupils attend with their parents, and the proceedings are discussed in the civics classes. In the United States the process of persuading citizens to vote for certain candidates is not so far advanced as to be termed an "educative process" and consequently forums held in our public schools do not follow the lead of our Canadian cousins.

Certainly local government, apart from personalities, is not only suitable for forum discussion but is the sort of subject that should be discussed. Hence if anyone is interested in better government in his own locality, and a forum program is not in successful operation there, he would do well to interest the local schoolboard in setting up such a program. A report on these forums which the Office of Education has recently issued will convince anyone of their value. A consulting service is maintained by the office covering all phases—administrative, financial, program planning, and publicity. Interested persons should read *Plain Talk* by Dr. Studebaker,[1] which should be in every public library. In it he says:

> I want to see public forums operated as a regular adult education program in the public school system. The discussion method is a technique of education. It should be used by the agencies for public education in a definite process of education. Nothing can add more to the value of public civic education than to extend it to include the majority of adults in a community. Thus the public school system will not only serve the community with facilities for lifelong education which is needed for good citizenship, but it will bring the responsible citizens into close relation with their institutions of learning. This participation of adults in the program of the public schools will improve the exercise of citizenship in the public control of education, the selection of school boards and policy-making bodies.

The readers of this REVIEW are necessarily those who are interested in adult civic education, particularly as it relates to local government. They have interested themselves in all methods which foster such education. The venture Dr. Studebaker has initiated opens up tremendous possibilities for good. Schoolmen in many instances want to be assured that there is a demand for a forum program before they bring definite proposals before their boards. Why not tell your local school superintendent he can count on your support of such a program!

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[1] *Plain Talk*, John W. Studebaker, National Home Library Foundation, Washington, D. C., 1936.

And wouldn't it be a good idea to send all candidates for public office to one of the forums now being conducted in the state as a sort of object lesson in how issues not personalities may be discussed? *The Columbia Record* (editorial), June 1, 1938.

Recent News Reviewed

NOTES AND EVENTS
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Merit System Extended in Federal Service.—By executive orders made public June 24th, President Roosevelt extended competitive civil service requirements, as of February 1, 1939, to more than 100,000 positions hitherto excepted therefrom, and modernized the ancient civil service rules, according to the United States Civil Service Commission. The orders will place in effect many long-standing recommendations of that commission, the National Civil Service Reform League, and the personnel report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, of which Louis Brownlow is chairman.

On and after February 1st all positions in the executive branch shall be in the competitive classified service, other than policy-determining boards, those expressly excepted by statute, those requiring Senate confirmation, and such other positions as special circumstances require to be exempted; and future vacancies therein shall be filled pursuant to the civil service law and rules, unless hereafter specifically excepted by executive order.

Present incumbents of all positions affected by the orders will not acquire civil service status unless they can pass such tests of their fitness as the Civil Service Commission shall prescribe. Among those affected by these orders are some 71,000 employees in old and New Deal agencies paid from emergency funds.

All of the highly paid positions heretofore excepted from competition by schedules A and B of the civil service rules must be reviewed within ninety days by the departments and agencies in which they are located and reasons presented to the President with the recommendation of the Civil Service Commission as to whether they should or should not be excepted from competition in the future.

The heads of executive departments and independent agencies are required to establish as of February 1, 1939, in each department and agency, personnel divisions for professional supervision and management of their employees. Such divisions will be headed by a director of personnel. Each such director will act as a liaison officer in all personnel matters between the executives, the employees, and the commission, and supervise appointment, assignment, service rating, and training of employees in such departments and agencies, and establish means for the hearing and settlement of grievances of employees.

The orders create a council of personnel administration consisting of the directors of personnel of the several departments and agencies, a representative of the Bureau of the Budget and of the United States Civil Service Commission, and such additional members as the President may designate. The President will name the chairman. The council will act as a watchdog of the merit system, and have advisory and investigative powers looking toward the coördination and perfection of the executive personnel service in all its branches.

The Civil Service Commission is directed to establish practical training courses for employees and to provide credits in promotion examinations for satisfactory completion of established training courses.

For the proper enforcement of the law and rules the commission is directed to recommend the discipline or dismissal of any person holding a position in violation of law

whether by appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or reinstatement, and of any employee taking part in political management or political campaigns, and provides that in case of continued violation the proper disbursing and auditing officers shall stop the pay of the person who is acting in violation of law.

Preferences to veterans are allowed under the new orders, as heretofore.

Opportunities for promotion within the service by competition are increased. Separate registers of employees eligible for promotion as a result of competition will be established and certified. Departments will be given priority of right to promote their own employees who establish eligibility. Transfer is subordinate to promotion wherever promotion is practicable.

The orders also provide for the first time for full medical and character investigation of all applicants prior to certification wherever practicable. They provide for joint examinations and use of lists with other approved federal, state, or local agencies where desirable. No question in any form of application or any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions of any applicant.

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Governmental Apprentice Training in Three States.—To provide recruits for government careers, colleges and universities are joining local or state officials in California, Indiana, and Wisconsin in plans for pre-service apprentice training, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

In California a group of city and county public administrators, in coöperation with the School of Government of the University of Southern California, plans to put students who have finished two or four years of college to work on salaried apprentice jobs in their home communities. Studying while they work, the students terminate their appointments when they have completed their educational programs. If they wish to continue in the public service, they must secure appointment in competition with other candidates. Another example of pre-service training in California is the recruitment plan of the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission and Bureau of Budget and Research. The Civil Service Commission picks eight men each year from graduates of the four large California universities as apprentices for one year's service.

Wisconsin, after six months' trial of a state government career plan, has just announced its expansion to include eight recruits annually from two colleges—the University of Wisconsin and Marquette University. Loans are granted to selected senior students, and to repay the loans the students work as apprentices in state commissions and bureaus. They remain in state service for two years, and to continue state careers they must qualify in regular civil service examinations. Students who decide to go outside government service are released from obligation by immediate repayment of their loans with interest. If there is no position for the student who wants a state career, the University of Wisconsin provides research work temporarily, waiving interest on his loan until he is placed.

In Indiana, for the first time this year, two apprentice examiners from graduating classes of the state's colleges and universities were appointed by the Indiana State Bureau of Personnel for a year's service. They will work for $120 to $145 a month. Only male applicants who have been residents of the state for at least one year are eligible.

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Public Employees Receive In-Service Training in Many States.—Employees of any rank in the public service, including administrators, as well as tool and technical workers, now can participate in municipal and state programs for training on the job. The only qualification is that instruction must be "less than college grade." These extensions of the public service training program are made in a recent ruling by the Department of the Interior. That part of the $14,000,000 vocational education appropriation set aside this year for public service training is issued to the states on a match-fund basis.

Among states where programs supervised by leagues of municipalities and vocational education boards are already under way are Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The scope of these programs is indicated by experience in New York State, where 62,003 public employees received instruction during

the first four months of this year. A wide variety of occupations were included.

*

Traffic Safety Training.—The National Institute for Traffic Safety Training will meet at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, August 8th to 20th. Eight technical courses will be given for advanced traffic students during the mornings, and general meetings on traffic safety problems will be held in the afternoons. The chairman of the administrative committee is Dr. Alexander V. Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan, and the executive secretary is Sidney J. Williams, National Safety Council, 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago.

The Northwestern University Traffic Safety Institute, Evanston, Illinois, announces that eight police fellowships of $1,200 each have been made available through a grant of $10,000 from the Kemper Foundation for Traffic Police Training. They will enable officers to study traffic accident prevention during the 1938-39 academic year.

*

Student Researchers Named in New York City.—On June 19th William B. Herlands, New York City commissioner of investigation, announced the appointment of thirty-five honor students of City College as "internes in public service," to carry on research investigations into various municipal problems. Appointment of additional students from other city-maintained colleges is expected to follow.

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Fellowships in Municipal Recreation Awarded.—The board of directors of the National Recreation Association, after its annual meeting on June 1st in New York, announced the award of four apprentice fellowships in municipal recreation to four college students—three from the United States and one from Canada.

*

Council-Manager Plan Developments.—The borough of Bendix, New Jersey, formerly Teterboro, on June 21st adopted the manager form of government by unanimous vote—twenty-four voters, out of a total of twenty-seven registrants, going to the polls. A new council, which will select a city manager for the borough, is to be elected on July 19th.

On June 28th North Dakota voters defeated a constitutional amendment making the manager plan optional for counties of less than eight thousand.

Forsyth, Georgia, will vote on the manager plan on July 14th. Berkley, Michigan, will vote on the plan September 13th.

The council of Yonkers, New York, has approved a petition calling for a vote on a new city manager-proportional representation charter. The matter will be submitted at the regular election in November. This is the third such charter which has been submitted to Yonkers voters within the past few years.

The city of Seaside, Oregon, which has a permanent population of 1,565 (1930 census) but a summer population running over 3,000, has been watching the progress of Astoria, Oregon, under the city manager plan. Mayor E. T. Stafford and the city council of Seaside are reported to look with favor on the plan, and the mayor is expecting to appoint a committee to draft a new charter. Proportional representation will be considered along with the manager idea.

The city of East Lansing, Michigan, on June 15th elected a commission for the purpose of drafting a new charter. The council-manager plan is expected to be utilized.

The Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood (New Jersey) has announced a tentative eight-point improvement program, as the result of some five hundred suggestions made by residents at twenty-two "community clinics" recently held in these five municipalities. Prominent in the program is a study of city and county manager government.

Monterey Park, California, on April 12th rejected a proposed council-manager charter, 1,074 to 630.

As noted in the proportional representation department in June (pages 341-2) the governor of Massachusetts on June 1st signed a bill which permits any city except Boston to adopt the council-manager plan with a council of seven or nine elected by P. R. Citizens of Cambridge and Springfield are advocating the adoption of the plan.

A committee of the legislature of Illinois, in special session in June, held several hearings on the proposed city manager enabling act with no action resulting thus far. As was the case at the last session, the opposition to the bill was distinguished by noise, unruli-

ness, and prejudice. The Chicago City Manager Committee, the Chicago City Club, The League of Women Voters, and other organizations appeared in active support of the measure. (See also p. 386 of this issue.)

Alexandria, Virginia, a council-manager city, on June 14th by a vote of 1,503 to 1,081 adopted a charter amendment making the city attorney and the city collector subject to election, instead of to appointment by the council. Although this is against the spirit of the council-manager plan, there was no movement to abolish the appointive city manager. The Alexandria *Gazette* of June 15th pointed out that only about 41 per cent of the qualified voters participated in the election, at which six council members were also chosen. The 1,503 voting for the amendment were only 24 per cent of the electorate. The newspaper suggested a three- to five-year contract for the manager (after a probationary period of six to twelve months), with dismissal only for misfeasance or malfeasance in office, subject to court appeal.

*

Boulevards and Back Yards Beautified in Memphis.—With offices and an auditorium in the Memphis Museum building, and an extension division with a chairman in every ward, the City Beautiful Commission of Memphis, Tennessee, marks eight years of progress since its inception by Mayor Watkins Overton. Civic groups and newspapers have coöperated with the unpaid commission of twenty, appointed by the mayor with the approval of the city commission. It functions as a bureau of the Department of Administration and Health, the city providing offices, a secretary, overhead expenses, and the part-time service of a landscape architect. The million-dollar Riverside Drive, with bordering parkways, particularly represents the mayor's effort in the beautification movement while innumerable accomplishments of individuals active in or inspired by the campaign have helped to transform back yards and vacant lots into gardens and playgrounds, improve the appearance of dwellings, and plant crepe myrtle, the city's official shrub, by thousands throughout the city.

*

Local Housing Authorities.—The recent creation of a local housing authority in Burlington, Vermont, brought to twenty-seven the number of states which have local housing agencies set up to participate in the $800,000,000 nation-wide slum clearance and low-rent housing program of the United States Housing Authority.

The legislatures of thirty-three states have passed low-rent housing legislation enabling their cities to establish local housing authorities, but in six of these states no local housing agencies had been established, up to June. They are Oregon, North Dakota, Colorado, Arkansas, Virginia, and Rhode Island. In the case of Virginia, the enabling act did not become operative until June 21st.

Nathan Straus, administrator of the USHA, said last month, "When the United States Housing Authority was created seven months ago, under the United States housing act of 1937, there were only forty-six local housing authorities throughout the country. At the present time 147 local housing authorities have been set up in twenty-seven states. All of these communities are now qualified to participate in the USHA program to clear their slums and construct decent low-rental homes for small income families."

Cities in the fifteen states not yet equipped by law to participate in the federal housing program await the passage of state enabling legislation in current special sessions or the regular biennial sessions scheduled for early in 1939, according to the National Association of Housing Officials, so that they may join in the increased program, the bond quota for the United States Housing Authority having been increased to $800,000,000 in the congressional relief bill. Such legislation is required to empower the cities to set up local housing authorities authorized to build, manage, and operate projects. Each city is expected to secure 10 per cent of the capital cost from non-federal sources and contribute a minimum of 20 per cent of the annual subsidy of any housing projects, the federal government supplying the rest.

The fifteen states still lacking the necessary enabling laws are: Arizona, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

United States Housing Authority contracts for loans to local authorities passed the $100,000,000 mark on June 1st. These loans

and supplementary subsidy contracts brought the local housing authorities with approved contracts to seventeen. Recent earmarkings of funds raise the total of allocations to date to $357,784,000 for ninety-five authorities in twenty-three states and Hawaii.

States with enabling legislation which so far have no municipal projects under the USHA program (although all but four of them have former PWA projects and other low-cost housing) are: Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Three of these states—Illinois, Massachusetts, and Montana—have found their laws unsatisfactory for USHA loan provisions, but Illinois and Massachusetts in current sessions are considering the necessary changes. In California, where cities were delayed by absence of legislation, Los Angeles City, Los Angeles County, San Francisco City and County, and Oakland have set up municipal housing authorities since the first of the year.

*

New York State Housing Amendments—a Correction.—The item entitled "Municipal Financing for Low-Rent Housing," on page 268 of our May issue, contained the statement that the voters of New York State would pass on certain amendments next fall. Miss Mildred B. Csontos of the New York State Library calls attention to the fact that these amendments must again be submitted to the legislature, in 1939, before submission to the voters—unless they are included in the proposals of the constitutional convention now in session.

*

New Hampshire Constitutional Convention Completes Work.—The twelfth constitutional convention in the state of New Hampshire—the last was over twenty years ago—recently came to a close. Proposals to be acted upon by the voters next November include: (1) absentee voting for all officials and on all questions submitted at the biennial elections; (2) striking out the word "male," which has remained in the voting qualifications since woman suffrage was approved, and authorizing legislative redefinition of the term "pauper" in the same article of enfranchisement; (3) prohibition of the use of gasoline taxes and road tolls for other than highway purposes; (4) adoption of a sales tax, graduated income and inheritance taxes, and taxes on growing wood and timber, stock-in-trade, and machinery.

Various plans to reduce the size of the House of Representatives, which now has about 424 members, were defeated, as was an amendment advocated by Governor Francis P. Murphy which would have allowed the state to extend grants or credit to aid private enterprise.

In New Hampshire a two-thirds vote is required for approval of constitutional changes.

Changing constitutions by conventions has been a slow procedure, according to the Council of State Governments. Of 185 conventions recorded, 128 have had their recommendations adopted; twenty-seven have been partly successful, and thirty have failed entirely. All states except New Hampshire have provisions permitting the legislature to propose constitutional amendments (in some states only at definite intervals), and fourteen states permit proposals by initiative petition.

*

Citizens Union of New York City Makes Further Constitutional Recommendations.—The nine recommendations of the Citizens Union of the City of New York to the constitutional convention now in session, summarized in this department last month, dealing with certain aspects of the legislative and executive departments, have been followed by fifty-three others dealing with the judiciary, local government, public finance, etc. They include the following, in brief summary:

Judiciary.—Appointment instead of election of judges; nonpartisan ballot for any not made appointive; easier removal of judges, supplementing present impeachment method by right of Court of Appeals to remove on charges, after public hearing; a chief administrative judicial officer appointed by the Court of Appeals; staggered fourteen-year terms for Court of Appeals, ten years for other judges; fewer constitutional courts; no outside business for judges.

Bill of rights.—Trial by jury in all criminal

cases involving more than one year's imprisonment; better safeguards around waiver of jury trial in other criminal cases; contempt of court in labor injunction cases and criminal contempt, punishable only after jury trial before another judge; no suspension of habeas corpus even in war or rebellion; immediate arraignment on criminal charges.

Local government and finance.—Prohibition of special "emergency" city acts by legislature; right of legislature to confer additional powers on cities; right of cities to modify special city acts by local laws; prohibition of special mandatory expenditures by cities except by uniform laws and provision of funds; removal of constitutional status of local officers other than legislative; strengthening of county home rule in New York City; requirement of serial bonds for local finance except temporary borrowing; financing of municipal capital improvements by taxes permitted outside the tax limit; lower tax rates permitted on improvements; taxation of land value increments permitted outside tax limit; no lower tax limits; no new tax exemptions without two-thirds vote of legislature, unless applicable to all improvements; exclusion from debt limit of self-supporting enterprises, and of revenue bonds.

State finance.—Payment of income tax by public officials; more than one bond issue permitted at one election; no earmarking of taxes; continue prohibition of state aid to sectarian education.

Amendments.—Initiation of amendments to constitution by petition as well as by legislature.

Elections.—Permanent registration permitted; personal registration required; removal of requirement that vacancy in elective office must be filled at next general election; third parties represented on election boards if polling 5 per cent of total vote for governor; civil service for election officials.

Civil service.—Continuance of merit system requirement; elimination of veterans' preference; removal of immunity from testifying in case of public officials.

Conservation.—Protection of natural beauty, sightliness, and historic associations.

Powers of the state.—Excess condemnation less restricted; Torrens law strengthened by full credit behind public guarantees of title; legislative power to enact motor-vehicle injury compensation plan; "any public purpose, including, but not limited to, the clearance, replanning, and reconstruction of areas in which unsanitary or substandard housing conditions exist, the eradication of slums, provision of housing facilities for persons of low income, the welfare of laborers, employees, women, minors, and others requiring special protection, the conservation, preservation, restoration, and utilization of the state's resources and values in soil, timber, minerals, water power, wild life, natural and public beauty, and historic associations, and the relief of private distress in public emergencies."

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President Emphasizes Responsibility of States and Cities for Direct Relief.—In a letter to Mayor F. H. La Guardia of New York, president of the United States Conference of Mayors, President Roosevelt on June 7th reiterated that the states and municipalities must continue to provide for direct relief, while the federal government provides a work program for the able-bodied unemployed. The letter was in response to an inquiry by Mayor La Guardia, as president of the conference, at the request of a number of the larger cities outside of New York State. Copies of the letter were sent by the conference to all cities.

*

Students Stage Model Conference on Interstate Coöperation.—Three hundred students from thirty-six Pennsylvania colleges met in Harrisburg in April at the fifth annual Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government. The three days were devoted primarily to a model conference on interstate coöperation, each college group representing a particular state. As described in the June issue of *State Government*, they debated, caucused, maneuvered, bargained, and compromised in the endeavor to obtain endorsement of specific proposals; the results were crystallized in seventy-eight resolutions calling for coöperation among the states in the solution of problems in nearly all fields of state government.[1]

[1]See also "Collegians Steal Legislators' Fire," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July, 1936.

North Dakota Defeats Proposed Civil Service Act.—An initiated measure to create a department of civil service for the state of North Dakota was defeated at the election held on June 28th. According to a statement issued by the North Dakota Taxpayers Association, this measure was sponsored by North Dakota state employees, but "does not present a real civil service law, retains all present employees in their present positions, and provides no merit system for them." The Taxpayers Association advocated the defeat of the measure.

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Civil Service Annual Meeting.—The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will hold its thirtieth annual meeting at the Wardman Park Hotel, Washington, October 17th to 21st.

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Public Health Workers Look to the Future.—"Public Health in the World of Tomorrow" will be the central theme of the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, to be held in Kansas City, Missouri, October 25th to 28th. Recognizing that the responsibilities of the health official have expanded by sheer force of necessity into fields of diagnosis and treatment, considered in the very recent past as beyond the circle of health department obligations, the convention program will attempt to forecast what is ahead for the career man or woman in the public health profession. An attendance of three thousand from this country and others is hoped for.

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International Housing and Town Planning Congress.—Mexico City and the Mexican government will be hosts to the congress of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, August 13th to 20th, followed by a six- or seven-day study tour of some of the most important developments in Mexico. It is also proposed to hold local meetings thereafter in the United States. The congress subjects will be: (1) planning of underground utilities and other facilities; (2) housing in tropical and sub-tropical countries; and (3) planning recreation and the use of leisure time. Addresses and reports are also expected to be given on town planning education and city administration.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

Functional Consolidation in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.—The university community of Champaign-Urbana is witnessing the inauguration of an interesting experiment in functional consolidation. In April 1937 the people of the town of the city of Champaign and Cunningham Township, the adjacent townships embracing the cities of Champaign and Urbana, respectively, voted to unite in the establishment of a joint health district under the terms of a general permissive statute of 1917. The governing body of the new district, officially designated as the Champaign-Urbana Public Health District, is a district board of health consisting of the township supervisors of the two coöperating townships and the president of the county board of supervisors (Champaign County). This three-member board imposes the tax levy for the district; appoints the district health officer, who serves as the executive officer of the board, from a list of eligibles prepared by the State Department of Public Health on the basis of open competitive examinations; and, with the approval of the health officer, appoints such other personnel as may be necessary for carrying on the work of the district.

After some delay due to uncertainty as to jurisdiction and powers, the government of the new district was actually organized and began to function on January 1, 1938. With the assumption of responsibilities by the district authorities, the city governments of Champaign and Urbana, as well as the authorities of the local school districts, virtually withdrew from active work in the health field, so that the new district is now the principal local unit concerned with health administration. The enactment of health ordinances, however, is still in the hands of the respective city councils. The activities of the district are being financed in part by the district tax levy and in part from funds provided by the United States Public Health Service under the terms of the social security act.

Dr. G. H. Gowen, who has been selected as the district's first health officer, was formerly connected with the State Department of Public Health and has had wide experience in public health work. At present the district staff includes, in addition to the health officer, four nurses, one sanitary inspector, and two office assistants. The activities of the district to date have been confined for the most part to the control of communicable disease through investigation and quarantine, the examination of school children, and the inspection of milk, water supplies, and food products. A beginning has also been made in the direction of health education, particularly with respect to venereal disease control. Other activities will be undertaken as funds permit. As this note is written, the district authorities, together with their legal counsel, are engaged in drafting, for presentation to the city councils of Champaign and Urbana, a modern ordinance regulating the production and distribution of milk within the local milkshed. If the ordinance is enacted by the respective city councils, the health district will be charged with the enforcement of its provisions.

The establishment of the new health district constitutes an encouraging, if somewhat belated, recognition of the fact that health protection in the "twin cities" is a function of government which can be carried on most adequately only by a single unified agency with jurisdiction throughout the community.

It may be noted that the health district constitutes the second instance of functional consolidation in this community, the Champaign-Urbana Sanitary District having provided sewage disposal facilities for the inhabitants of the two cities since its establishment in 1921.

CLYDE F. SNIDER

University of Illinois

Charter Revision in Los Angeles.—Taking advantage of a constitutional amendment which simplifies the procedure for revising county and city charters, the Los Angeles county board of supervisors and the Los Angeles city council will submit charter revision proposals to the voters within the next few months. Formerly revision of the charters as well as the drafting of a new charter had to be performed by a board of freeholders. In 1936 the people approved a constitutional amendment permitting the legislative body to submit either a new charter or proposals for revision without calling an election for a board of freeholders. It was thought that this would facilitate making badly needed changes in some charters without creating all the disturbance attendant upon a freeholders' election.

It has been held generally that both the city and the county charters in Los Angeles were reasonably good, but that certain changes were necessary to bring them up to date. Accordingly, the city council instructed the city attorney and the director of the bureau of budget and efficiency to draft suggestions for alterations in the city charter. The county board appointed an administrative committee composed of the county counsel, county auditor, and director of the department of budget and research to do a similar task for the county charter. The latter charter has not undergone any serious change since its adoption in 1913 as the first county charter in the United States.

In twenty-five years the growth of administrative functions has produced many new problems of organization and managerial control. The county of Los Angeles has outgrown the original functions of a county and is performing a large variety of municipal services in unincorporated territory. Several thoughtful attempts have been made to produce some reorganization of the county government structure to simplify the lines of control and to provide a semblance of overall management. The Committee on Governmental Simplification, appointed by the board of supervisors in 1935, proposed a means for coordinating various administrative agencies, and strongly recommended the adoption of a county manager plan. The board of supervisors, however, refused to put these recommendations on the ballot for popular scrutiny in 1936. The county manager proposal has now been revived by the chairman of the supervisors, and may become an active issue again in the new attempts to change the charter.

At present Los Angeles County suffers from the usual defect of county government—lack of unified administrative control. The board

of supervisors directs the general affairs. Nevertheless, this difficulty has been overcome to some degree by the development of the department of budget and research as a budgetary agency to assist the supervisors in administrative management. A weakness in the department's position at present is that it has been created by ordinance and has no charter status. Probably one of the charter amendments to be proposed this fall will attempt to fix the authority and responsibility of the department on a more secure basis.

Civil service is another matter that requires some alteration and clarification in the county charter. A citizens committee appointed by the supervisors, with William Bennett Munro as chairman, has been studying the problem and will make recommendation to the board in time for the fall election.

The problem of the city charter presents a task more of simplification. The two officials appointed by the city council have interpreted their authority solely to suggest revision of the present charter so as to (1) clarify parts in terms of recent court decisions; (2) remove ambiguities in wording that have been discovered in operation. An increasing amount of sentiment has been expressed among citizen groups for a more thoroughgoing change. Town Hall is one of these—a study and discussion group numbering over three hundred members, headed by President Russell M. Story of Claremont Colleges. This group is patterned after the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. Its section on municipal and county government has appointed subcommittees to bring in suggestions for charter changes in the city and the county.

Los Angeles remains the one large city employing boards and commissions at the head of all major administrative departments. There are eighteen commissions in the present set-up of the city government. Much complaint has been raised that certain of these commissions interfere unduly with administration of the departments, or provide a means for "buck-passing" when citizens complain. Suggestion has been made that certain of the commissions be abolished and the remainder be made purely advisory or supervisory in function.

Another suggestion that is being studied is a plan to adapt newer ideas of organization for overall management to the mayor-council plan now in operation. This was suggested by a citizen's committee in 1934. The nucleus of this plan lies in the present bureau of budget and efficiency, a management agency fixed in the charter to assist the mayor. The proposals envision the regrouping of such agencies as city attorney's office, purchasing agent, treasurer, etc., into a management division for the purpose of guiding administration under the mayor. Most of the administrative departments of Los Angeles have a good reputation for internal management, but there is a real need for coördination and management of the organization as a whole. Official agencies appear to be reticent about suggesting such fundamental changes, but it is hoped that citizen groups can be mobilized to produce some action on these plans which have been discussed for some years, and which appear to be producing some crystalization of opinion.

WINSTON W. CROUCH
University of California, Los Angeles

Los Angeles County for Manager.—There is activity in Los Angeles County again to secure the adoption of the manager form of government. There has been organized the Lawyers' County Manager Committee to help draft an amendment to the Los Angeles County charter which, when adopted by the people, will provide for a central executive or county manager. On May 27th a civic affairs luncheon was held at which prominent lawyers of the county conducted a symposium on the manager plan.

Chesterfield County, Virginia, and the Manager Plan.—As reported in this department for June, Chesterfield County, Virginia, has again voted against the adoption of the manager plan. On May 12th two questions were presented to the voters: one, whether the county would change its form of government; the other, if a change is desired, which plan of government is preferred—the county executive or the county manager. Since a substantial majority voted against any change, the votes on the choice as between the two forms of government were not tabulated.

Some observers see in the recent vote an approval of the executive secretary provided for Chesterfield by the last session of the General Assembly. Nothing now remains but for the board of supervisors to pass a reso-

lution appointing an executive secretary who will purchase supplies, and in other ways serve the board as a "glorified clerk." As Supervisor Diggs remarks, however, they have decided "not to rush into the appointment but to let nature take its course."

The balloting was not without humor. On the question of change of government, the ballot read For—Against—Strike One A literal-minded voter struck out "one."

Chesterfield has now lost the opportunity of adopting the manager plan for some time to come. As stated in this column for May, the General Assembly (1938) provided that an election on changing the form of county government may be held only once in three years.

JAMES E. PATE

College of William and Mary

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County Manager Amendment Defeated in North Dakota.—The voters of North Dakota, on June 28th, defeated a constitutional amendment which, if ratified, would have cleared the way for the adoption of the county manager form of government in counties having a population of eight thousand or less. The defeated amendment included the following provisions: the question may be submitted upon petition of 25 per cent of the electors and if approved by a majority of those voting the board must appoint a county manager. It becomes his duty to perform either personally, or by agents which he appoints, the duties now required by law to be performed by the register of deeds, county auditor, county treasurer, sheriff, county judge, clerk of district court, superintendent of schools, and assessors. He may hire an attorney to perform the duties of state's attorney. He may remove the persons whom he appoints. The manager himself is to be accountable to the board and subject to removal with or without cause by the board. If a change is desired in the form of county government the question of changing back to the former system may not be submitted within six years.

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Small Counties in Colorado Oppose Consolidation.—Among the twenty-three proposed amendments to the state constitution to be voted on by the people of Colorado this fall is one permitting county consolidation. The author of the amendment reports that he has been deluged with letters in respect to the proposition. Some complain because he did not make the proposed number of counties smaller but more are protests. One declares that there is no small county in the state that wants or has asked for consolidation and goes on to say, "We are going to organize to fight this thing to a finish."

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Police Power Extended in North Carolina County.—In 1937 Guilford County, North Carolina, secured the passage by the state legislature of an act requiring a license from the Board of County Commissioners to operate outside of the corporate limits of the incorporated cities and towns of Guilford County, any tourist camp, dance hall, road house, place of entertainment, hotel, inn, or lodging or rooming house open to travelers or the general public. Under this authority the board promulgated the rules by which an establishment of this sort might operate and after a year's experience the county officials report that the licensing has had a very salutary effect. It has aided law enforcing officers in the performance of their duties and has been the means of substantial progress in eliminating undesirable conditions. This experiment is of interest not only because it recognizes a problem which menaces the peace and safety of the rural areas but because it represents an extension of the police power of the county board.

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Iowa Enacts Land Law.—A public-bidder law was recently adopted by the state of Iowa and it is said to be proving effective in clearing up titles and tax delinquencies on vacant land and restoring such property to use. When taxes are delinquent for a specified period, the county may bid in the land and may then sell it at public auction to a private buyer and give a clear title.

Herbert A. Nelson, executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, points out that this act provides a direct and simple plan for cutting away the tangle of debt and delinquent special assessments and taxes, thereby keeping much vacant land out of use. A public-bidder law, in his opinion, might be a useful aid toward needed replanning in the case of some areas.

TAXATION AND FINANCE
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Jersey Local Government Finance Laws Enacted.—With the enactment into law of the so-called Princeton survey bills late in May,[1] the New Jersey legislature added another impressive item to the record of a state already noteworthy for its sound local finance legislation. Under the four new laws enacted on the recommendation of the Princeton Survey Commission, the state sets up coördinated machinery for preventing in the future the types of fiscal chaos which have characterized many local units not only in New Jersey but throughout the country in the past.

Constituting chapters 127, 128, 158, and 159 of the pamphlet laws of 1938, the new legislation establishes a state department of local government, which succeeds to the present supervisory functions of the state auditor and will in addition exercise wide powers of control over local budgets, accounts, and fiscal practices. The department is to be headed by a commissioner of local government, to which post the present state auditor, Walter R. Darby, has already been appointed. A state board of local government is also established, with power to hear appeals from the commissioner's rulings as well as exercise supervisory powers of its own. The present Municipal Finance and Funding Commissions, established to cope with emergency problems resulting from the last depression, are continued intact, with the commissioner of local government succeeding to the state auditor's powers as regards these activities.

A detailed analysis of the new legislation will appear in next month's REVIEW, in a full length article by Dr. John F. Sly, Secretary of the Princeton Local Government Survey.

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Constitutional Tax Limit Urged for New York State.—Among the many proposals before the New York State Constitutional Convention now in session in Albany are several looking toward the imposition of tax rate limits upon the local units of the state. Urged by various of the organized real estate groups, they range from rigid overall rate limits which would include debt service to limits to be imposed on operating funds only.

Heretofore tax rate limitation proposals in New York have gotten no farther than one or the other of the houses of the state legislature. They have been headed off, partly by the opposition of the municipalities and interested civic, research, and investment groups, and partly by the greater emphasis placed on more constructive methods of controlling local finance as recommended by the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws and in the fiscal provisions of such statutes as the optional city manager law and the Desmond and Buckley optional forms of county government acts. Should the constitutional convention bring forth any recommended amendments containing tax rate limit sections, such proposals will be referred to the general electorate of the state for the first time since the recent nation-wide campaign for their adoption began. All of which brings up again, in the nation's largest state, the pros and cons of real estate tax rate limitation.

One of the most concise statements summarizing the position of tax rate limit proponents which has come to the attention of this writer is the following, which is contained in a press release of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, dated May 21, 1938: "When you put a millage ceiling or tax limitation on property you have taken a very decisive step to spread the tax base and relieve by 23 per cent to 25 per cent this cost of local government which the farmers and home owners of land, together with owners of other types of real property, are now paying, beyond their rightful obligation."

This statement is typical of the arguments and phraseology of the campaign being waged by the organized real estate dealers and operators. It contains the two basic contentions of the proponents: first, that the tax rate limit is a necessary first move to "spread the tax base;" and second, that the tax charge to real property is in excess of its "rightful obligation." It also exhibits another characteristic of the propaganda of the tax rate limitationists: it promises a very definite reduction in real estate taxes (note the narrow limit of two points between minimum and maximum reduction), and it is completely silent on the subject of what replacement taxes will be

[1] As reported in the June issue of this REVIEW, p. 333.

necessary after the tax base has been "spread." Therefore, consideration of this short and innocent looking sentence will throw considerable light on tax rate limits as a whole.

Obviously, "rightful obligation" cannot be determined with exactitude, especially in regard to a subject as inherently complicated as is taxation, but it is exceedingly doubtful if the real property tax, as found generally in local governments in this country, imposes on real estate a burden far out of line with real estate's "rightful obligation." This is preeminently true of the costs of providing protection—fire and police—without which property ownership would be hazardous or impossible. It is true to only a less extent of the so-called improvement facilities—streets, sewers, water supply, street lighting. Even of such services as schools, libraries and museums, parks, and playgrounds, there is every evidence that real estate is directly benefited—witness the consistency with which real estate promoters advertise proximity to these facilities as a substantial lure to prospects and the consistency with which they hold them to be an important factor in establishing residential property values. In other words, practically every service resulting in a local government cost is of direct or substantial indirect benefit to the owners of real property and those to whom they rent the use of it.

Even when judged by ability to pay, the real property tax holds up pretty well under fire. Studies of tax delinquency on a country-wide basis disclose a surprisingly large number of localities where the property tax suffered only a relatively slight decline in productivity during the depression years, while information is readily developed showing that when excessive tax delinquency appears to indicate a breakdown of the property tax base other and more important causes are usually to be found at the bottom of the matter. Among these other causes the overdevelopment of vacant urban real estate and inflation of urban and rural property values is conspicuous, and especially so because this all too frequent cause of taxpayer-hardship springs directly from the activities and manipulations of the speculating gentry among the real estate brotherhood itself.

In fact, when the effect of property value inflation, premature subdivision, and the special assessment financing of overambitious improvements provided through the medium of public credit at the insistence of real estate owners and operators is considered, it is pretty difficult to see how the organized real estate groups can claim to come into court with clean hands in seeking to get out from under the costs which have been occasioned by their own desire for profit. But they have been and are doing it, and in the name of the so-called "small property and home owner."

Which brings us to the second point of the NAREB release quotation. This is that tax rate limits are necessary to "spread the tax base." If it is desired to "spread the tax base," tax rate limits will certainly do it, and abruptly and with dispatch, even though the process is roughly comparable to teaching the young boy self-reliance by turning him out of the home at the tenderest possible age. The intended beneficiary is usually more harmed than helped. Following the simile, the local government will undergo a period of readjustment and curtailment of services, just as the young boy will slowly starve until he learns his way around. Then, just as the sociologists tell us that the youngster will turn to his wits and a probable career of juvenile delinquency, the history of tax rate limitation indicates that the local government will turn without scruple to each and every possible revenue source. The property owners—who were intended to be relieved of a burden by the rate limit—will face new imposts on every conceivable activity, ranging from fees for the service of having their sewage disposed of to licenses for the privilege of doing business in the old home town. And in all probability the state government can be persuaded to come to their rescue with the one unfailing replacement tax—the retail sales tax in one guise or another. When this expensive tariff has at last become a reality, and the little home owner begins to reckon up the pennies and nickels which he is now paying as a costly substitute for the annual or quarterly property tax bill, the cycle will be complete, and the small property owner will realize he has been sold a gold brick, like the cast-out youth who looks back with bitterness at his unfeeling parent. Only the man who owns more property than he and his family can occupy will benefit, since he will pay the additional taxes of only one person or family, but will reap the property tax saving on

dozens or perhaps hundreds of rented properties and vacant lots.

And what will the "savings" amount to anyway? The quotation promises that it will amount to "between 23 per cent and 25 per cent." No more, no less, and a handsome saving it is. Obviously, it might be considerably more, and it might be a great deal less. But equally obviously, it will amount to a whole lot less if additional taxes are levied on some other base to preserve the level of governmental services and if the property owner has to pay the replacement taxes. So this glib assurance of the tax rate proponents is just as misleading as the insinuation that by "spreading the tax base" the small home owner is somehow going to be lightened of his tax burden.

Of course, if tax rate limit proponents were to be quite candid, they would say something like this: "When you put a ceiling or tax rate limit on the ad valorem property tax, you take the first step in upsetting a long established equilibrium among the various tax bases to which federal, state, and local governments have become adjusted. You will not be content to have your local government curtail its services to the extent which the rate limit you impose will make necessary, provided it actually limits, so you will consent to substitute a direct and easily accounted for tax for almost numberless indirect taxes, licenses, fees, and alleged benefit service charges. If you are a large property owner or a speculator in vacant lands, the shift in the tax base will benefit you proportionately to your holding and the amount of the property tax reduction. If you are a home owner or a renter you will be called upon to make up in retail sales taxes and miscellaneous levies not only the revenue losses occasioned by your reduced property tax bill but also the losses arising from the reduced property taxes of all those who profited by the property tax reduction. If you are fortunate in living in a community where government is exceedingly efficient and other conditions combine properly, you may actually be neither better nor worse off under the tax rate limit than you were before. But if you are wise, you will refuse to gamble on the uncertain and will insist your tax burden be lightened through the more orthodox, and far more successful, method of positive fiscal and administrative reforms."

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MFOA to Meet in St. Paul.—Retirement systems and personnel problems will vie with tax collection and accounting procedure as topics for discussion when the Municipal Finance Officers' Association meets for its 1938 conference in St. Paul, August 15th to 18th, inclusive. The conference will hold two general sessions and fifteen round-table meetings, with virtually all current fiscal problems of the local governments touched by subjects on the agenda.

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RFC Makes Handsome Profit.—Financing of the new Metropolitan Water District of Southern California was completed early this year with the sale of the last block of bonds to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which had taken all the $208,500,000 save for $1,500,000 sold to the PWA. The district is constructing the Colorado River aqueduct, to bring water from the mountains two hundred miles away to Los Angeles and twelve other member cities in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, California. Designed to be self-supporting, the project is outstanding both as an engineering job and as an example of soundly conceived and executed use of the public credit.

District bonds as issued (they were actually in the form of interim certificates, since it was planned to readjust the interest rate when they were re-offered) carried a 5 per cent interest rate, 1 per cent of which was remitted by the RFC under an informal agreement with the district. Recently the district and the RFC ended negotiations for the interest to be readjusted, at 4 per cent on half the bonds and at 4¼ per cent on the other half. On June 22nd the RFC sold the first $60,000,000 to a syndicate of over 140 investment houses—as 4's at a price of 107, or a premium to the RFC of some $4,200,000. The bonds thus go on the market at an unusually high price for this type of obligation—actual re-offerings were from a 2.65 per cent basis for the near term maturities to 3.65 per cent for the longest terms. Since the RFC is supposedly an agency existing for the financial convenience of those bodies to which it extends financing accomodation, rather than a profit-making agency, it is a

little difficult to see why, if the bonds are to be sold at an interest basis ranging from below 3 per cent to 3.65 per cent, this advantage should not have been passed on to the taxpayers of the water district in the form of a lower interest coupon, rather than go to the RFC in the form of a $4,200,000 profit.

Taxpayer Takes it on Chin.—The Commerce Clearing House makes the following interesting report on a recent decision of the Supreme Court of South Carolina: "When a taxpayer uses a check in paying taxes he constitutes the treasurer his agent in the handling of said check. The law does not regard the taxes as paid until the checks are paid, and the fact that taxes are usually paid by check does not give such procedure the sanction of law. Here, although the checks were given to the treasurer in due time he failed to deposit them until the penalties had accrued. The defendant, as surety for the treasurer, is liable for the amount of the penalties the latter failed to collect inasmuch as the treasurer's bond is conditioned upon the faithful performance of his duties and not upon the turning over of all the money placed in his hand." *State ex rel. Cherokee County et al. v. Brown et al.*

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

The National Elections in Ireland.—The myth that proportional representation and a strong government are mutually exclusive was further demolished by the Irish national elections of June 17th. Expressing unmistakable approval of the treaty with England recently concluded by Prime Minister Eamon de Valera, the people of Eire gave his Fianna Fail party a clear majority of sixteen over all others in the new Dail Eireann. The final results, announced on June 21st, were Fianna Fail seventy-seven, the United Ireland Party (Fine Gael) headed by former Prime Minister William T. Cosgrave forty-five, Labor nine, and independents seven. The election was conducted, like all its predecessors since the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922, by the Hare system of proportional representation, which gives the voters the greatest freedom to vote effectively for minority candidates if they wish to do so. The system is essentially the same as that used for city council elections in New York, Cincinnati, and other American cities.

Unlike district plurality elections, which usually sacrifice some of the outstanding party leaders to adverse local majorities, these elections appear to have returned nearly all of the Dail's leading figures. Mr. Cosgrave lost his usual place at the head of the poll in Cork City, but was elected as one of the minority members. The independent lord mayor of Dublin, Alfred Byrne, lost his usual lead in Dublin Northeast to Oscar Traynor, Mr. de Valera's minister of posts and telegraphs, but still was elected in that district along with General Richard Mulcahy, one of Mr. Cosgrave's leading associates. Mr. de Valera and all of his ten cabinet ministers were elected.

All the minority parties lost members, particularly Labor, which previously coöperated with Fianna Fail but this time went into opposition. The support of Mr. de Valera was so strong in every part of the country that but for P. R. the Labor and independent minorities would have been wiped out almost completely and Mr. Cosgrave's delegation would have been greatly reduced. As it is, the government party has been given an adequate majority without sacrificing the benefits of a strong opposition.

Mr. de Valera has always been known as a strong supporter of proportional representation on the ground, to use his own words, that "it is just." Early in this campaign he indicated that if it failed to give any party a majority by itself, he might consider suggesting its abolition. The popular reaction to this hint was distinctly unfavorable and Mr. de Valera gave assurance that no step of this kind would be taken without a separate referendum. More than once he indicated his own desire to continue the system provided it proved consistent with a stable government. As a matter of record, although it has not always had a one-party majority, Ireland's experience as to the stability of its governments under the freest system of proportional representation has compared most favorably with that of France and other European countries under plurality systems, even including Great Britain, and also with those countries which use inferior party list systems of P. R.

We hope to present further facts about the Irish P. R. elections in our next issue.

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Yonkers and Schenectady Plan P. R. Votes This Fall.—The Yonkers City Manager League, which narrowly missed carrying a P. R.-manager charter amendment in November 1937, has filed the necessary 10 per cent petition to bring a new proposal of the same kind before the city council and the council, on June 29th, passed an ordinance submitting the charter to a vote at the regular election in November.

Starting a little later but still in good time, a Citizens' Council for Proportional Representation is following the same course in Schenectady. Before this note appears in print petitions will be filed for a council of nine elected together by P. R. every two years to replace the present council of seven elected by plurality vote at large for four-year overlapping terms. So as not to rip any city councilman out of office the next council election under this proposal would be held next year under the old system, but for a two-year term, and the first P. R. election would be held for the entire council in the fall of 1941.

Schenectady has the city manager plan already. The amendment would retain an appointive manager and would add an appointive mayor, chosen from the P. R. council as its presiding officer and ceremonial head of the city by majority vote of the council's members. The mayor is now chosen by separate popular vote as a member of the council.

The proposed amendment is receiving good civic support and is backed by prominent members of all parties. The opposition is coming from the locally dominant Republican organization. City Clerk Simons Etkin has issued greatly exaggerated statements as to the cost of P. R. elections with paper ballots, followed by a thoroughly unfounded statement, based on a reading of the election law without regard to the city home rule law, that paper ballots could not be used at all and new P. R. voting machines would have to be purchased regardless of their expense. These statements have been adequately answered by Richard K. Hamlen, chairman of the Citizens' Council for P. R., and the council's attorneys, W. D. Smith, J. P. Boyle, and H. J. Sacharoff. The controversy has helped to arouse new interest in the P. R. proposal.

P.R. and City Manager before the Illinois Legislature.—Governor Horner, under the earnest persuasion of the Chicago city manager advocates, included the desired enabling legislation in his call for a special session of the legislature which was convened the first of June. The city manager bills, which include optional P. R., were introduced by the governor's floor leader in the lower house, Representative Adamowski. They were referred to the house municipalities committee after passing the first reading.

Under the present laws of the state of Illinois governing municipalities only towns of five thousand or less can have a council-manager form of government. In the last session of the legislature the bills which were introduced to extend to all municipalities the privilege of voting on a council-manager and P. R. charter were defeated by a vote of 72-66. The Chicago delegation, which is dominated by the Kelly-Nash machine, engineered this defeat.

The municipalities committee held a public hearing on June 8th for the proponents of the bills to furnish their arguments. A large contingent from Chicago went down to the capitol to testify. Witnesses were continually harassed by opponents of the measure. Representatives Daley, Skarda, and Quinn, all from Chicago, kept the meeting in an uproar with charges of "un-American," "fascistic" and "reactionary." The opposition was anxious to determine the names of those contributing to the city manager campaign fund. Fear of political reprisals forced the chairman for the City Manager Committee, H. Barry McCormick, to refuse to divulge the names of the contributors. He did, however, name the modest totals collected yearly since 1935.

Mr. Kroll of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Cincinnati appeared before the committee to testify to the benefits to be derived by labor. Mr. Kroll stressed the fact that labor had two representatives on a council of nine in Cincinnati, while in Chicago labor is unable to obtain even one representative in a council of fifty aldermen. Pickets are treated more humanely in Cincinnati, Mr. Kroll brought out, than in Chicago, as witnessed the Memorial Day massacre of last year.

One legislator expressed a fear that the nine members of the council under the city-wide

P. R. election might be elected from one precinct or even one house.[1] Representative Daley wanted to know why the state of Illinois or even the national government shouldn't have a manager if it is the best plan for the city of Chicago.

R. T. Soderstrom, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, was the chief witness at the committee hearing devoted to the presentation of opposition to the bills. Un-American, reactionary and undemocratic were the tags pinned on the council-manager plan by Mr. Soderstrom while trying to convince the municipalities committee to kill the bills. Representative Van Der Vries soon after had Mr. Soderstrom admitting it was undemocratic to deprive the people of the right to vote on the type of government they wanted.

The municipalities committee concluded its hearing on the bills in the city council chambers in Chicago, Friday, June 17th.

E. F. EGAN

Chicago City Manager Committee

The Chicago City Club *Bulletin* of June 27th states that "because of dilatory tactics of certain members of the committee, there is now insufficient time for the passage of the bills by July 1st, which means that the bills will almost certainly be put over to the next session."—EDITOR.

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P. R. in University Elections.—If the college students of today include the political and civic leaders of tomorrow, the outlook for P. R. seems bright. A considerable number of our leading institutions of learning are now using P. R. for student elections.

We are indebted to H. A. Gleason, Jr., of Cornell University and Richard M. Scammon of the University of Michigan for very full information about recent P. R. elections on their own campuses and at the University of Minnesota.

Cornell University

P. R. was adopted last year for the elections of the Cornell Student Council, by a vote of 686 to 77, in the hope of breaking the near monopoly of the "big six" group of about twenty fraternities and, by injecting new blood into the council, stimulating it to greater usefulness in solving student problems. The council consists of a president, treasurer, secretary, and five other members elected by the incoming senior class men, five members elected by the incoming junior class men, three members elected by the incoming sophomore class men, and the president and vice-president of the Women's Self-Government Association, with certain non-voting members ex-officio. The members-at-large from each class are elected by P. R., the three officers by the Hare system of majority preferential voting.

At the first election, which was imperfectly organized, a ban was placed on open campaigning and plans to have the candidates express their views at open forums fell through. This put the independents at a disadvantage and only two were elected. In spite of the ban on campaigning there was a record poll of 1,200 votes.

At the second election, held this spring, the independents put on a real campaign and increased their representation by one, electing two out of five members-at-large for next year's senior class, one out of five for next year's juniors, and just failing to elect one of the three for next year's sophomores. The voting was even heavier than the year before and everything went more smoothly. The results are recognized as fairly representative.

With the adoption of P. R. for the student council the system has come into use for other campus organizations. The Llenroc Dining Association has elected its board by P. R. twice. The Cornell chapter of the American Student Union elected its delegates to the national convention at Vassar last December by P. R., averting a bitter struggle among several factions and dividing the representation among them to everyone's apparent satisfaction. The Cornell Independent Association has been electing its officers by preferential voting. When the student council recently created a freshman council of eight, it prescribed P. R. for its election. "All in all," Mr. Gleason writes, "P. R. seems to be getting a good hold on the campus, so that it is taken for granted in a number of organizations."

University of Michigan

Early this year the Michigan League, the Student Religious Association, the Michigan

[1] This theoretical possibility is often used by opponents of P. R. but never even approached in actual P. R. elections. Because many voters vote with geographical considerations in mind and are given their due share of effect on the result, the members elected are always well scattered.—EDITOR.

Union, and several other campus organizations joined together to sponsor a new Student Senate for the University of Michigan. The senate was designed to serve as an organ of campus-wide student opinion, not only on university problems but also on national and international questions. P. R. was prescribed for the election of its thirty-two members. After a spirited campaign, in which a United Liberal Coalition, Conservative party, Progressive Independent party, and several other groups put forward candidates and platforms, the election was held on March 11, 1938. A total of 1,715 ballots were cast, of which only six were blank or invalid and 1,617, or 94 per cent, were effective in actually helping to elect candidates voted for. Eight United Liberals, six Conservatives, three Progressive Independents, two Liberals, the one United Communist League candidate, and twelve others were elected. The winners included both men and women, members of all classes, from freshman to graduate, and one Negro.

University of Minnesota

Mr. Scammon, the graduate student who conducted the P. R. count at the University of Michigan, has also sent us information about the recent adoption and use of P. R. at the University of Minnesota. Last year, after agitation over a four- or five-year period, the student body adopted P. R. for an All-University Student Council of fifteen members, to be elected at large.

On the old council six members had been elected together by cumulative voting from the College of Liberal Arts and one or two members by each of the smaller colleges by majority vote. This plan had "provided an almost permanent fraternity coalition majority, and the new P. R. plan was finally carried through by the liberal, non-fraternity opposition group."

The first election was held April 14, 1938. "P. R. was introduced into a flourishing party system and the thirty-two candidates who ran included fourteen of the (former) majority, conservative, fraternity Gopher party and twelve of the minority, liberal, non-fraternity Progressive party. There were also six independent candidates." Most of the voters followed party lines and the results were as follows:

Party	*First-choice votes*	*Members elected*
Gopher	1,197 (45%)	7 (47%)
Progressive	1,020 (38%)	6 (40%)
Independent	458 (17%)	2 (13%)
Total valid	2,675	15

Invalid and blank 83—3% of total vote.

At the same time five students were elected by plurality vote to a university board in control of student publications. On much the same party vote four Gophers and one Progressive were successful.

Brooklyn College, New York, has used the Hare system of proportional representation for the election of class representatives to the student council at its last two elections. Three representatives are chosen from each class. Officers of the student council, including president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, are elected at large by majority vote. In each of the P. R. elections, the ballots have been counted by members of the Bureau of Government Research, an undergraduate organization sponsored by the Department of Government.

Other institutions of higher learning now using P. R. for student elections, according to recent information, include Syracuse University, Columbia University, New York University, St. Lawrence University, University of Wisconsin, and Antioch College.

PLANNING

INCLUDING ZONING

Edited by

Alfred Bettman and Walter H. Blucher

New Jersey Planning Decision.—An outstanding decision in the field of planning is that of Justice Heher of the New Jersey Supreme Court in *Mansfield and Swett, Inc. vs. Town of West Orange*. Without going into the details of the case, which involve the subdivision regulations of the community, we quote in part from that decision. "To particularize, the public health, safety, order, and prosperity are dependent upon the proper regulation of municipal life. The free flow of traffic with a minimum of hazard of necessity depends upon the number, location, and width of streets, and their relation to one another, and the location of building lines; and these considerations likewise enter into the growth of trade, commerce, and industry.

Housing, always a problem in congested areas affecting the moral and material life of the people, is necessarily involved in both municipal planning and zoning. And it is essential to adequate planning that there be provision for future community needs reasonably to be anticipated. We are surrounded with the problems of planless growth. The baneful consequences of haphazard development are everywhere apparent. There are evils affecting the health, safety, and prosperity of our citizens that are well-nigh insurmountable because of the prohibitive corrective cost. To challenge the power to give proper direction to community growth and development in the particulars mentioned is to deny the vitality of a principle that has brought men together in organized society for their mutual advantage. A sound economy to advance the collective interest in local affairs is the primary aim of municipal government."

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Detroit Builds Relief Houses.—The city of Detroit has completed the construction of ten houses for persons on relief. The houses are of brick veneer and each home has hot-air heat, a full basement, gas refrigeration and stove, and electric lights. They have been criticized as being too small for the average family. Materials used were reclaimed building materials obtained by the city of Detroit. WPA labor was employed. Although the department constructing these houses estimated that the cost was between $2,200 and $2,800 a later audit showed the cost of each house to be nearer $5,000.

*

Park Your Car on Your Lot.—The zoning ordinance of Bronxville, New York, has been amended to provide that parking space for automobiles must be provided in the residence district on the lot, thus taking the cars off the street. In the multiple dwelling areas, there must be parking space or garage space large enough to accommodate an automobile for each family.

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Municipal Parking Lots.—In an attempt to solve their growing parking and traffic congestion problems, cities in at least seventeen states have acquired municipally-owned parking space near their central business districts, according to a survey conducted by the American Society of Planning Officials and the International City Managers' Association, in coöperation with two hundred cities representing every population group.

Twenty-five cities reported that they are providing off-street parking space, while six others announced surveys of their parking problems with a view toward establishing municipal parking lots. Parking fees range from ten to seventy-five cents a day, with twenty-five cents the average fee for all-day parking.

Chicago's lake-front parking space in Grant Park, near the business district, is probably the largest municipal parking area in the nation; it now has a capacity of 2,500 cars and is being enlarged to provide parking facilities for 3,500 cars within the next few months.

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Termination of non-Conforming Uses.—The bill introduced in Congress for the zoning of the District of Columbia had a provision providing for the termination of non-conforming uses. This was considered a desirable step forward in zoning administration since non-conforming uses have been important factors in the deterioration of land values. The section of the bill dealing with such non-conforming uses has, however, been eliminated in the Senate.

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Planning Conference.—Three hundred and sixty-seven persons from thirty-four states, the District of Columbia, Canada, England, and Holland attended the National Conference on Planning held in Minneapolis June 20th to 22nd. The conference was sponsored by the American City Planning Institute, the American Planning and Civic Association, and the American Society of Planning Officials. Among the subjects discussed were: Planning a Housing Program, The Value of Planning to Public Officials, Traffic Studies in Relation to City Planning, County, Metropolitan, and Regional Planning, Urban Land Policies, Rural and Agricultural Zoning, Trends in Planning Law, Legislation and Litigation, The Administration of a Planning Office, State Planning, Education for Planning in the United States, Migration and Economic Opportunity, and Capital Budgets and Improvement Programs.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

Edited by Robert M. Paige

Governmental Research Association.—The annual conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held from September 7th to 10th in Princeton, New Jersey, at the attractive Princeton Inn.

The conference will convene Wednesday noon, September 7th, and at the luncheon session Mayor Charles Erdman of Princeton will deliver a welcoming address. The afternoon session will be devoted to a roll call of research agencies. At this session research bureau directors will indicate what they have accomplished during the past year and the projects which they are planning to carry on during the year to come.

At the dinner session, Wednesday evening, Dr. William E. Mosher of Syracuse University will talk on university-research bureau relationships.

On Thursday, September 8th, the morning session will be devoted to a discussion of the statement presented by eighteen governmental research men to the United States Senate Committee on Unemployment and Relief. At this session there will be a general consideration of unemployment relief and the relief financing problem.

Following the luncheon on Thursday, Professor J. Douglas Brown of Princeton University will discuss the report of the President's Advisory Council on Social Security, of which body he is chairman.

On Friday, September 9th, the morning, afternoon, and evening sessions will be devoted to discussions of population trends, planning, and housing. Harold Henderson, director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, is in charge of the session on "population trends and what these trends mean to state and local governments." Several outstanding population authorities will speak at this session. Philip Cornick, member of the staff of the Institute of Public Administration, will be in charge of the session on urban land planning. Miss Catherine Bauer, director of research for the United States Housing Authority, will address the conference on the problems involved in initiating a large-scale public housing program in this country. Other planning and housing experts will participate in these sessions.

Saturday morning, September 10th, will be devoted to a session on interesting new administrative developments, with particular reference to financial controls. At this session the recently enacted New Jersey legislation relating to local government finance will be discussed by Professor John F. Sly and others.

At the final luncheon session, Saturday noon, Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration, will talk on the work of the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Costs of Education in New York State.

Full details with reference to the conference program may be secured by addressing a request to the office of the secretary at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago.

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Duluth Governmental Research Bureau.—During the past year the bureau has attended all regular meetings of the school board, city council, county board, and board of public welfare. Such attendance makes possible a continuous sample check of day-to-day public transactions which is the most important and effective activity of the bureau. Furthermore, in no other way can the necessary knowledge of current public affairs be maintained, and in no other manner can there be so many opportunities to make suggestions for improved procedure or better methods that the conscientious public official welcomes at all times.

Budgets.—Representatives of the bureau sat in at the budget sessions of the city and county, entered into the discussion of the various spending proposals, participated in reducing city budget requests for the operating funds over $280,000, and successfully pointed out that $50,000 more than was necessary had been requested for the city bond sinking fund.

Relief Problem.—The bureau prepared a summary statement of local, state, and federal relief expenditures in St. Louis County, Minnesota, from 1930 to 1937. This statement has been used locally as a means of presenting the size of the relief problem, and was used in preparing certain statistical data incorporated in a statement made before the United States Senate Committee on Unemployment and Relief by Mr. Carl P. Herbert of the St. Paul Municipal Research Bureau. This state-

ment was signed by the executive heads of eighteen governmental research bureaus in as many different cities, including Duluth.

School Enrollments.—The bureau rechecked the trend of births and school enrollments which were set forth in a bureau study of two years ago. This showed that while the number of marriages had increased, the birth rate had increased but 40 per cent as much, and that elementary school enrollments will continue to decrease until at least 1942 and high schools even to a later date, provided the number of families moving into Duluth does not exceed the number moving away.

Legal Basis of City Government.—The bureau prepared and published a complete analysis of the legal basis of the administrative organization of the city of Duluth, which provides basic information on the city government that has never before been available in comprehensive form. As typical results, current operating expense of the airport has been put on a pay-as-you-go basis instead of being financed by bonds, the city attorney's office is making a check-up of the charter requirements that all appropriations be made by ordinance, and the reclassification of positions now under way by the Civil Service Commission has resulted in the city attorney being asked for an opinion as to whether certain positions, which have heretofore been considered exempt, should not come within the civil service provisions of the charter.

Pensions.—The bureau examined the current status of the local pension funds of the teachers, firemen, and policemen.

Road and Bridge Affairs.—The bureau has just completed a study of the legal basis of the administration of the county road and bridge fund, including a historical summary of the development of the present methods. This study will be published soon. It will help to clarify the legal requirements of the road and bridge administration, and will be used as the basis for suggestions for possible corrective legislation to be presented to the next session of the legislature.

The bureau's program for the coming year shapes up as follows:

St. Louis County.—The publication of the study of the St. Louis County road and bridge administration will provide new opportunities to attack the inefficiencies of county government.

New Hospitals.—Proposals for a tuberculosis sanatorium and enlargment of the welfare board's hospital facilities will be examined.

School Buildings.—The problem of additional secondary school buildings will be studied.

General.—The staff will endeavor to do those things in and about government that the citizens are supposed to do for themselves, but which, because of the urgency of everyday affairs, indisposition or inexperience, they themselves do not or will not do.

M. W. DeWees,
Executive Secretary

Recent Books Reviewed

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

State and Federal Grants-in-Aid. By Henry J. Bittermann. New York City, Mentzer, Bush and Company, 1938. x, 550 pp. $4.00.

Recent issues of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW contain articles and other references to a growing complaint of local officials—that as time goes on a grant-in-aid tends to have more and more strings attached to it until local initiative practically disappears in that field. The grant-in-aid was discussed at the conventions of practically every league of municipalities last year; the proceedings and resolutions passed show that local officials are saying that the device is always bringing to mind the fable of the camel that began by getting his nose in the tent and ended by pushing his owner out.

All of this leads to the easy prophecy that much white paper will yet be dirtied before we adjust ourselves to the proper use and control of this sweet-sour contrivance. In any event any future discussions of grants-in-aid will contain numerous quotations from Dr. Bittermann's treatise in order to be thorough and well buttressed. His definition of a grant-in-aid, which sets it off from the "shared tax," is "a payment made by a central to a local authority to defray part of the cost of a service administered by the local authority, usually subject to some conditions set by the central government, which may inspect and partially control the service and, if conditions are not satisfactory, withhold future payments of the grant."

The various means used for raising funds from which to make grants, as well as the terms upon which the grants are sometimes allotted, leads the author to first consider them as financial devices. This is done in a group of chapters that present the important principles and their deviations which are used to finance such objectives as education, highways, relief, and social security. The same objectives are then recanvassed in another group of chapters but now the grant-in-aid as an administrative device becomes the basis of inquiry and arrangement. This re-examination, however, is not repetition and the double treatment gives the student not only fullness but clarity.

The interactions of state and federal programs in the case of each objective are studied with care. It would be too much to expect also in the same book a discussion of the interaction within each state of that state's program, concerning each objective, with local programs, but such discussion is not entirely omitted, as for instance in the chapter on unemployment relief administration.

The aspect presented in a final group of chapters is that of the apportionment of grants. The formulae and practices recorded are discussed from a very sensible viewpoint, that of "the ends sought by the subvention system." This enables the writer to land a body blow on that hoary and decrepit argument that it is "unfair" for New York State to "pay" $928,000,000 into the national treasury and "receive" only $8,700,000.

The concluding chapter is, of course, devoted to the task which is obligatory upon all who write such a volume, the sacred duty of "evaluation." The recommendations it contains are not so many in number and, preceded by a clause that points out that other means should not be neglected, the book ends with the quiet words that the grant-in-aid "may be used as an important device for gradual improvement of state and local government and administration." There is thus left to its readers the job of changing the probability of

"may" into the "inevitability of gradualness." Local officials and civic-minded laymen who are at present worried about the final effect of the grant-in-aid on local democracy will keep this book within reach for a long time.

WALTER J. MILLARD

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Public Enterprise. Development in Social Ownership and Control in Great Britain. Edited by William A. Robson. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1937, 416 pp. 12/6. (Distributed in the United States by the University of Chicago Press, $3.00.)

With the emergence of the service state, governments the world over are venturing into new fields of enterprise. As they assume new services they are inventing new administrative devices for their governance. This welcome and timely account of recent British experience indicates the variety of administrative choice that confronts the state when it enters the arena of economic activity and discusses the problems inherent in the various devices chosen.

Professor William A. Robson of the University of London has edited a volume which takes the form of a symposium. His own contributions consist of a paper on the British Broadcasting Corporation as well as a preface and a chapter of general conclusions on the public service board. The other chapters and the specialists who treat them are as follows: The Port of London Authority, by Lincoln Gordon, Ph.D., instructor in government, Harvard University; The Forestry Commission, by John Parker, M.P., general secretary, New Fabian Research Bureau; The Central Electricity Board and Other Electricity Authorities, by Graeme Haldane, M. I. E. E., consulting engineer; The London Passenger Transport Board, by Ernest Davies, director of First Coöperative Investment Trust Ltd.; The Coal Mines Reorganization Commission, by Ivor Thomas, formerly senior demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; The Agricultural Marketing Boards, by W. H. Jones, assistant lecturer in agricultural economics, University College, Aberystwyth; The Post Office, by John Dugdale, L. C. C., private secretary to Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, M.P., former postmaster-general; The Organization of the Cooperative Movement, by G. Walworth, agricultural organizer, Coöperative Union.

Public enterprise is usually revenue-producing and often "self-supporting." This invites the use of the amphibious device of the public corporation, a hybrid creature of public and private antecedents. In the United States we too have come to see its values as well as its dangers. The government corporation, said the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Washington, January 1937) "has proved to be an effective device not only for emergency purposes but for the continuing operation of a variety of economic services. Its peculiar value lies in freedom of operation, flexibility, business efficiency, and opportunity for experimentation. These advantages, however, raise unusual problems in the realm of administrative management. Special forms of supervision and control are needed to preserve these values and at the same time to insure that they are utilized in the public interest." In commenting on boards, the committee said: "For purposes of management, boards and commissions have turned out to be failures. . . . When freed from the work of management, boards are, however, extremely useful and necessary for consultation, discussion, and advice; for representation of diverse views and citizen opinion; for quasi-judicial action; and as a repository of corporate powers."

Public Enterprise has particular relevance for American students of public administration at a time like this which finds us experimenting on a broad front with the use of the corporate form in government, when the comparative merits of boards and commissions versus single administrators have become national issues, and when the relationship of such public undertakings to the executive and legislative branches is the subject of fierce Congressional debate. Surely, factual material from another democratic state concerning the successful means, as well as dangers to be avoided, in operating public enterprises is doubly welcome at this juncture.

The similarities in the general problems of the use of the board or corporate form in the two countries are as striking as the differences in their detailed applications and background. Not since the pioneer work of Professor Marshall Dimock of Chicago on *British Public Utilities and National Development* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1933)

have we had such valuable guideposts to a sounder development of public enterprise.

HERBERT EMMERICH
Public Administration Clearing House

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The Unicameral Legislature. By Alvin W. Johnson. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938. ix, 198 pp. $2.50.

Nebraska's adoption of a one-house legislature has inspired yet another volume. Mr. Johnson's book is a concise discussion of the movement which began—in recent history—in 1912 in Ohio and Oregon and grew to striking proportions following Nebraska's adoption of the plan in 1934. During last year, no less than forty amendments for the reducing of legislatures to a single house were considered in twenty-one states. The author discusses the historical process by which the bicameral legislative body was established in America, early experiences with a single-chambered legislature in Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Georgia, and the experiences of England, Canada, and other countries with a one-house legislature. Several appendices, setting forth the Nebraska amendment and proposed amendments in Ohio and California, together with a bibliography, complete the volume.

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Personnel Administration in the Federal Government. By Lewis Meriam. Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1937. 62 pp. Fifty cents.

This is an able discussion of the proposals put forth by the President's Committee on Administrative Management in so far as they deal with personnel. To the committee's proposal that the Civil Service Commission, as established in 1883, be abolished and its functions transferred to a central personnel agency under a single head, possibly with a nonpartisan board appointed to serve as a watch-dog of the merit system, the author takes exception. He points out the dangers of such a change as he sees them and sets forth his own recommendations for improving the administration of the federal civil service.

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Municipal Finance Legislation, 1937. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Public Administration Service (Publication No. 59), 1938. vi, 64 pp. $1.00.

This is the second digest of municipal finance legislation issued by Public Administration Service, the first appearing shortly after the 1935 legislative sessions. According to the present report, the forty-odd legislatures meeting in 1937 passed nearly a thousand laws dealing with municipal finance. A comparison of the two years shows that the emphasis this past year was away from tax collection problems, a matter to which the 1935 legislatures devoted much effort. One of the most hopeful signs in the 1937 laws was the establishment or continuation of commissions to study financial problems. A classified survey of the legislation passed, under the principal headings of taxes, debt, revenues, and depositories, follows a statement summarizing the work of the legislatures.

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Measuring Municipal Activities. By Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1938. v, 102 pp. $2.00.

This study should prove invaluable to public administrators and other students of government interested in appraising the accomplishments of local government. The pamphlet contains a discussion of the means of measuring the administrative results of eleven chief activities of municipalities—police, fire, health, welfare, personnel, finance, planning, recreation, public works, education, and library service. Appendices contain a bibliography and suggested monthly report forms. The study not only summarizes measurement techniques now being used but points the way to the next steps which might be taken in the measurement of municipal activities.

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Social Saga of Two Cities. By Calvin F. Schmid. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937. xvi, 418 pp. $3.50.

This book—"an ecological and statistical study of social trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul"—presents in orderly and systematic fashion a great mass of material on the twin cities. Included in the subjects discussed are crime, delinquency, health, housing, population composition, dwelling rentals and valuations, crowded living conditions of families, home ownership, etc. The study contains few direct recommendations for improvement of social conditions, but an examination of its contents should act as a stimulant to efforts in the direction of social betterment.

Realty Tax Delinquency in Michigan. By Robert S. Ford. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government (New Series Bulletin No. 8), 1937. vi, 125 pp.

This is a comprehensive analysis of tax delinquency, by counties, throughout the state of Michigan.

The study is divided into four parts—judicial procedure, an analysis of tax delinquency for 1934 and prior years, the reversion of tax delinquent lands to the state and the administration of those lands, and a discussion of the causes and treatment of tax delinquency. It is well illustrated with charts and tables.

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The Costigan Amendment. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers (Bulletin No. 18), 1938. 22 pp. Fifty cents.

The Costigan amendment, passed in 1935, repealed the notorious "pink-slip" provision of the revenue act and substituted a section permitting examination of federal income tax returns by certain tax officers to aid in the administration of state tax laws. Due to a somewhat obscure interpretation of the Treasury Department, this privilege of examination is limited to state officers or employees, who may in turn relay the information to local tax officers with the approval of the governor of the state.

This pamphlet is designed to guide local assessors and state tax officers in securing access to federal income tax returns, transcribing or photographing them, and putting the information to use in the assessment of property taxes. It includes various examples of the effects of such examination in the assessment districts in which the privilege has been used.

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Municipal Index and Atlas. New York City, American City Magazine Corporation, 1938. 667 pages, $5.00.

This is the fourteenth annual edition of a most valuable compilation of facts and figures relating to American cities. The volume contains maps of all the states with counties well outlined; an index of city managers, mayors, and other local officials; with articles and statistics on streets and highways, water supply, sewage and garbage disposal, light and power, public safety, parks and playgrounds, etc. A bibliography, "New Books for the City Hall Library"; legal decisions on the city's legal rights and duties; financial statistics of cities; etc., complete the volume.

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Public Administration Organizations. A Directory, 1938-1939 (fourth edition). Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1938. xi, 184 pp. $1.50.

The fourth edition of the directory of organizations in the field of public administration lists more than two thousand voluntary associations of those concerned with managing the public's business. Of these, 558 are national organizations on which the directory carries full information. A total of 1,342 state, 80 regional, and 87 Canadian organizations are also listed. The directory does not include strictly local groups, political parties, service clubs, or fraternal organizations. Eighteen new national groups, including the American Association of Juvenile Court Judges, the American Association of Leisure Time Educators, the Automotive Safety Foundation, the Bureau of Coöperative Medicine, the International Association of Traffic Police, the Interstate Conference of Unemployment Compensation Agencies, and the National Association of Sanitarians, are included in the new directory.

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1937 Tax Rate Book. By League of Kansas Municipalities (Bulletin No. 111). Lawrence, Kansas, 1937. 27 pp. $2.00.

A compilation of the city, the city school, and the county tax rates effective in 587 cities and 105 counties in Kansas for the year 1937, together with the population, assessed valuations, percentages of taxes collected, bonded indebtedness, and outstanding registered warrants.

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Gasoline Taxes, Motor Vehicle Taxes, Highway Costs and Automotive Revenues. By Mabel L. Walker. New York, Tax Policy League, 1938 (February, March, and April issues of *Tax Policy*) 8, 24, and 19 pp. Twenty-five, fifty, and twenty-five cents respectively.

These three issues of *Tax Policy*, combined, present a picture of automotive revenues and highway costs, state by state. The bulletins contain numerous tables of rates and other factual material as well as an analysis of automotive revenues in relation to highway costs.